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## The American Frontier—Frontier of What?

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### I

IT IS now over half a century since Frederick Jackson Turner assisted in Chicago at the international celebration of the discovery of America by reading his famous paper on "The Significance of the Frontier in American History." "Almost without critical test," as Professor Paxson has remarked, the frontier hypothesis in that paper met with prompt and well-nigh unanimous acceptance by historians of the United States.<sup>1</sup> And during succeeding years, we all know, it has inspired and been exploited in a multitude of tomes and monographs. Nowadays none of our university departments of history is complete without a frontier specialist, and no one, even a New Yorker, would essay a history of the United States, whether for the profession, the general reader, or the schools, without paying homage to the Turner hypothesis.

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<sup>1</sup> Frederic L. Paxson, in *Encyclopaedia of the Social Sciences*, XV (1935), 132-33.

Our historical guild should have no illusion or pessimism about its ability, in the long run, to lodge in popular consciousness practically any interpretation or reconstruction of the past upon which it may concentrate. It can certainly perceive and rejoice that its concentration for a half century on the significance of the frontier in American history has been productive not only of caviar for seminars but of common fare for journalists and radio commentators. The hypothesis has become axiomatic that our democracy and social progress and national mores have been chiefly, if unconsciously, the creation of frontiersmen, as these, in an epic sweep westward across the continent, successively wrested new free lands from the wilderness and the Indians and there, "as nowhere else in recorded history, set up institutions relatively free from coercion by either law or habit."

I have neither the intention nor the competence to criticize this hypothesis. I can only bow, with respect and envy, to the numerous scholars in American history who, with extraordinary industry and enthusiasm, and in great detail, have applied and tested it during the last half century. I wonder, however, if the time has not come when our historians might profitably broaden their conception of the frontier and extend their researches and writing into a wider field. For granting that the frontier has been a major factor in the historical conditioning and development of what is distinctive in the United States, a large and now, I believe, most pertinent question remains about the American frontier. It is a frontier of what?

This would seem an obvious question, with an obvious answer. The answer was, indeed, clearly indicated several years ago by the late President Dixon Ryan Fox in a series of brilliant essays,<sup>2</sup> and likewise by the late Professor William R. Shepherd in his graduate lecture course and seminar on European expansion and in articles he published in the *Political Science Quarterly*.<sup>3</sup> Both those scholars, and a considerable number of others, including the California "school" of Professor Herbert Bolton, regarded the advancing frontier in North America, like similar frontiers in South America, Australasia, and South Africa, as a frontier of Europe. They were concerned with the transit of culture from Europe, or from already Europeanized overseas areas, to the frontier, as well as with the reverse cultural influences of the frontier.

Unfortunately, such broad vision was shared by relatively few specialists in American history, and it led to no appreciable lessening of their absorption

<sup>2</sup> Most notably, his "Civilization in Transit," "Culture in Knapsacks," and "Refuse Ideas and Their Disposal," conveniently assembled in D. R. Fox, *Ideas in Motion* (New York, 1935). The first of these appeared originally in the *American Historical Review*, XXXII (1927), 753-68.

<sup>3</sup> *Political Science Quarterly*, XXXII (1919), 43-60, 210-25, 392-412.

in the frontier itself and in the one-way influences of the frontier upon purely American developments. One conventionally assumed that the frontier was a western frontier of the eastern United States. It was viewed as a peculiarly American phenomenon, determining the unique character of our own national society and culture.

## II

The vogue of this restricted interpretation of the American frontier, and the concurrent neglect of broader and otherwise obvious considerations, have been, I submit, at once a result and a stimulant of growing intellectual isolationism in the United States. Our isolationism, of course, has many aspects, political and economic as well as intellectual, and many explanations. Before the days of steamships and airplanes we were, in truth, remote from the rest of the world; and our achievement of political independence naturally fostered an ambition for intellectual independence. Moreover, a lurking suspicion of inferiority, which long lingered with us, has had the usual psychological compensation in strident assertion of superiority. And for utilitarian purposes, as well as under romantic influences, we have cultivated a lusty nationalism, the more intense because the more artificial. In Europe, everybody has been conscious of belonging to a particular nationality, with distinctive language and traditions, and nationalism has been a more or less natural flowering of the consciousness of nationality. In the United States, on the other hand, nationalism has been the fertilizer, rather than the flower. It has here been spread and utilized as the most effective means of producing in a population of very diverse origins—linguistic, religious, and racial—a common and luxuriant consciousness of belonging to a new and unique nationality. All this has inoculated us against Europe and built up an isolationist state of mind.

In all this, too, our historiography has played no inconsiderable part. It was marked, in the first generation of our political independence, by patriotic and panegyric works, shelved now but influential then, such as David Ramsay's *History of the American Revolution*, Timothy Pitkin's *Political and Civil History of the United States of America*, and the biographies of Washington by Mason Weems and John Marshall. Afterwards, for two succeeding generations and well into the 1880's, its central monument was George Bancroft's elaborate presentation of American history as an unfolding of the Deity's grand design to enshrine in the New World and particularly in the United States the ark of the covenant of liberty and democracy.

Since the introduction, in the 1870's and 1880's, of professional university training, with its inculcation of scientific spirit and methods, American

historiography has understandably reacted against the puerilities of a "Parson" Weems and the grandiose pietism of a Bancroft. Yet, if our historical writing has latterly become more critical in manner, it is not less American in subject matter and emphasis. Indeed, a striking general fact about it during the past seventy years has been the tendency to turn away from European themes and to concentrate upon strictly American. The seventy years mark a new and self-imposed sort of "Babylonian Captivity." There have been no real successors to Prescott, Motley, and Parkman; our recent literary historians write epics of the United States.

For every monograph or doctoral dissertation in European history during the past twenty years, there have been at least a dozen in American history. And whereas formerly every research worker in American history had had some basic training in medieval or modern European history, nowadays one can, and frequently does, produce a dissertation in a state of comparative innocence about what has occurred outside the geographical confines of the United States. This circumstance and the narrowing specialized training of our university seminars must explain why so many younger investigators of the American frontier have neglected its broader relationships and been indifferent to its comparative study. Even the growing number of economic determinists among us tend more and more to seek confirmation of their faith in exclusively American events.

Yet apparently the isolationist and nationalist trend in American historiography is not deemed fast or effective enough. In the columns of a leading metropolitan newspaper is alarmingly broadcast a series of embarrassing disclosures that there are "facts" of American history which high-school and college graduates have not learned, or do not remember. To remedy the sorry situation, state laws are being rapidly enacted by politicians addicted to Fourth of July oratory, and curriculums are being correspondingly refashioned by professional "educators." We are going to compel the next generation to have more American history—and, perforce, less of any other: the very generation which we expect to carry successfully the new and manifold international responsibilities we have assumed.

Of course the backbone of the schooling of our young people should be history—solid, vertebrate history—and not any of the amorphous jelly-like substitutes for it which were a fad with curriculum-makers between the first and second World Wars. But I, for one, do not see how we substantially improve matters by expanding a high-school course in American history from one year to two or three and telescoping all the rest of man's past and the history of all other nations into a single year or half year of fleeting elementary



generalization quaintly described as "world history." Nor do I perceive how a college sequence or a university doctorate in "American civilization" is going to prepare our students and scholars for enlightened participation in the transcendent responsibilities of the United States as a world power, that is, unless "American civilization" is intimately and historically related to the original and widely ramifying civilization of which it is but a fragment.

The present trend, if unchecked, can only confirm the popular myths that the "American way of life" is something entirely indigenous, something wholly new, and something vastly superior to any other nation's. It is also likely to strengthen our people's missionary and messianic impulse, which will have far greater scope and far greater opportunity for expressing itself in the current aftermath of the second World War, and which, if unattended by realistic knowledge of other peoples and their historic cultures, may lead to the most dangerous consequences for the United States itself. Just when we are recognizing the futility of political isolation and joining at long last an international security organization, and when, through reciprocal trade agreements and acceptance of the Bretton Woods proposals, we are abandoning efforts at economic isolation, it is astonishing and paradoxical that at the same time we should keep alive and actually intensify an intellectual isolationism.

From the bitter experiences of recent years, we, as a nation, have derived surprisingly few lessons affecting our thinking. We have doubtless become a bit more aware of some kind of relationship between the United States and the world outside, and more inclined to wishful thoughts about a universal utopia which our sanguine publicists alluringly, though vaguely, picture as "the bright new world of tomorrow." Doubtless, too, certain patent strategic needs of the moment, coupled with a good deal of public advertising, have aroused a special interest in Latin America and popularized the concept of "hemispheric solidarity," which probably signifies, however, only a shift of isolationism from the nation to the hemisphere. At any rate, there can be no doubt that the bulk of Americans, including the bulk of our so-called intellectuals, continue to think, in essentially isolationist terms, of separate "Old World" and "New World," of detached Eastern and Western Hemispheres, of "Europe for the Europeans" and "America for the Americans."

This dichotomy in our thinking is the result, let me repeat, of ignorance, of self-centered absorption in local or sectional concerns, and of nationalist propaganda. It is unrealistic, contrary to basic historical facts, and highly dangerous for our country at the present and in the future.

## III

We used to know that we were Europeans as well as Americans, that we were not Indians or a people miraculously sprung from virgin forests like the primitive Germans described by Tacitus, but modern Europeans living in America on a frontier of Europe. All our original white ancestors on this continent knew they came from Europe. They and their sons and grandsons knew they had ties with Englishmen, Spaniards, Portuguese, Hollanders, or Frenchmen, as the case might be, not only on this side of the ocean but on the other. And generation after generation of their descendants on this side, no matter on what segment of the frontier they chanced to be, and no matter how intent on clearing new lands, were concerned and found themselves participants in all the successive major wars of Europe from the sixteenth century to the twentieth: the English-Spanish wars, the English-Dutch wars, the War of the League of Augsburg, the War of the Spanish Succession, the War of the Austrian Succession, the Seven Years' War, the Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars, the war of 1914, the war of 1939. From the first, moreover, it has been known or knowable, if latterly obscured, that our language, our religion, our culture are rooted in Europe, that our ideals of liberty and constitutional government are a heritage of Europe.

In paying tribute to the members of the Constitutional Convention of 1787, Charles A. Beard has remarked:

It is not merely patriotic pride that compels one to assert that never in the history of assemblies has there been a convention of men richer in political experience and in practical knowledge, or endowed with a profounder insight into the springs of human action and the intimate essence of government. It is indeed an astounding fact that at one time so many men skilled in statecraft could be found on the very frontiers of civilization among a population numbering about four million whites.<sup>4</sup>

It is not quite so astounding, I would add, if one bears in mind that those men "on the very frontiers of civilization" possessed lively contacts with, and solid knowledge of, the European civilization on whose frontiers they were. One has only to run through the numbers of the *Federalist* to recognize the sure and firm grasp of such men as Hamilton, Madison, and Jay on the history and political experience of ancient Greece and Rome and of the countries of medieval and modern Europe—Britain, Germany, France, Poland, the Netherlands, Switzerland.<sup>5</sup> The founding fathers may have been frontiersmen and greatly influenced by economic conditions in the New World, but they could readily have passed a searching examination for the doctorate in Euro-

<sup>4</sup> Charles A. Beard, *The Supreme Court and the Constitution* (New York, 1912), pp. 86–87.

<sup>5</sup> See in particular Nos. 17–20, 34, 47, and 63 of the *Federalist*, in the convenient sesqui-centennial reprint, edited by Edward Mead Earle (Washington, 1939).

pean history and European comparative government, which, I dare say, is more than the majority of our senators or even of our Ph.D.'s in American history could now do.

That the United States could become an independent nation and enjoy the freedom and opportunity to extend its frontiers and greatly to increase its population and prosperity and strength during the perilous fifty years of Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars and Metternichean reaction, from 1775 to 1825, is attributable less to American aloofness from Europe than to the informed statecraft of Americans who were then in familiar touch with Europe and equipped to treat with it intelligently and realistically. Almost without exception, our presidents and secretaries of state and key diplomatists of that time had practical experience in European, as well as American, affairs—Franklin, Jefferson, Jay, Marshall, Madison, Monroe, John Adams, John Quincy Adams. Monroe, for example, served in diplomatic posts in France, England, and Spain for six years before he became Madison's Secretary of State, and his own Secretary of State, John Quincy Adams, had been a student at Paris and Leiden and had had twenty years' diplomatic experience in France, the Netherlands, Prussia, Russia, and Great Britain. The words which this qualified statesman put into Monroe's celebrated message of 1823 to the Congress expressed an enlightened realism in notable contrast with utterances and actions of certain American statesmen of a later date less in touch with the realities of Europe and more with ideological propaganda in America.

Said the message of 1823, without trace of a holier-than-thou attitude:

Our policy in regard to Europe . . . remains the same, which is, not to interfere in the internal affairs of any of its powers; to consider the Government *de facto* as the legitimate Government for us; to cultivate friendly relations with it, and to preserve those relations by a frank, firm, and manly policy; meeting, in all instances, the just claims of every power; submitting to injuries from none.

It was not only our statesmen of that time who knew and appreciated the relationship between Europe and America. Our colleges and academies, with their classical curriculum, and our literary men and publicists, with their extensive reading of British and French philosophers of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, possessed like knowledge and appreciation. Our commercial classes, including our cotton planters, had it, too. To protect our commerce with Europe, Jefferson dispatched to the Mediterranean an American armed expeditionary force which made landings in North Africa nearly a century and a half before the recent repetition of American campaigning in the Mediterranean. And what a reading public there was in the United States

for those literary historians in our "middle period"—Irving, Prescott, Motley, and Parkman—who dwelt on exploits of Spanish, Dutch, and French. It might well be envied by any historian of the American frontier or even by the Book-of-the-Month Club. The Mediterranean Sea was not then so far off, or the Atlantic Ocean so wide, as our developing isolationist nationalism later made them.

Our successive American generations of frontiersmen on the eastern seaboard, in the piedmont, across the Alleghenies, along the Ohio, the Great Lakes, and the Mississippi, over the prairies, and into and beyond the Rockies, may have thought of themselves as Americans first. They may have adopted Indian dress and Indian usages in hunting and fishing and scalping. They may have exerted, and doubtless did exert, a profound and lasting influence on the nationalist evolution of the United States. But all this did not make them Indians or immunize them against the superior and eventually mastering civilization which emanated from Europe and relentlessly followed them. They remained Europeans and retained at least the rudiments of European civilization. After all, the American frontier, as Professor Turner so ably and perhaps regrettably showed, was an evanescent phenomenon, ever passing from primitiveness toward the social and intellectual pattern of the area in back of it. In other words, the abiding heritage of traditional civilization outweighed, in a relatively brief period, the novelties acquired from Indians and wilderness. Continuity proved stronger than change. The transit of culture was not so much *from* as *to* the frontier.

Differences admittedly obtain between Americans in the United States and the peoples in Europe from whom they are descended, but the differences are not greater in kind, and hardly greater in degree, than those obtaining between Englishmen and Spaniards or between Germans and Italians, or between the people of the United States and the peoples of Central and South America. True, the nationalism which has progressively infected all peoples of Europe and America during the last hundred and fifty years has grossly exaggerated the differences and given wide currency to the notion of distinctive and self-contained national cultures—a French culture, a Norwegian culture, a Spanish culture, an American culture. The result has been an obscuring and neglect of what these several national cultures have in common, a European or "Western" culture, the community of heritage and outlook and interests in Europe and its whole American frontier.

Actual differences are differences of emphasis and detail, associated with political sovereignty and independence, and arising from variant geographical and historical circumstances. Back of them all, however, is a unifying fact

and force, which is describable as "European" or "Western," and which, now more than ever before, needs to be appreciated and applied. Actually and fundamentally, just as the European remains a European while thinking of himself first as an Englishman, a Frenchman, a German, or a Spaniard, so the descendants of Europeans in America remain European even while insisting that they are Americans first.

The frontier has undoubtedly been a very important source of what is distinctive and peculiar in the national evolution of the United States. But few European nations have been without a frontier in the American sense at some time in their history and without significant lasting effects of that frontier. Contemporary peculiarities in the life and customs of Spain, for instance, cannot be dissociated from the slow advance, during several centuries, of a frontier of conquest of Moorish lands; nor Germany's, from an analogous frontier in barbarous regions of north central Europe. In a larger way, all America is a frontier: Latin America, of Spain and Portugal; Quebec, of France; the United States, of Great Britain and Holland, Spain and France, Germany and Ireland, Scandinavia and Italy and Poland. Our Negroes and Indians, as these have been civilized, have been Europeanized as well as Americanized. The "melting pot" is no novelty in the history of Western civilization; it has latterly been doing in America, on a large scale, the same sort of fusing which at earlier dates produced the chief nations of modern Europe. Comparative study of frontiers in Europe and America, together with comparative study of melting pots and nationalisms in both, might serve to demonstrate that obvious differences between nations of European tradition are fewer and relatively less significant than their similarities.

#### IV

"European," as I here use the term, does not refer merely to a detached piece of geography or to a continent by itself, and not to another "hemisphere" or a hoary and pitiable "Old World." Rather, it refers to a great historic culture, the "Western" civilization, which, taking its rise around the Mediterranean, has long since embraced the Atlantic, creating what Mr. Walter Lippmann has appropriately designated the "Atlantic Community."<sup>6</sup> As Professor Ross Hoffman says:

Every state of the North and South American continents originated from Western European Christendom which Voltaire, in the age before the independence movements, characterized so well as a "great republic." Englishmen, Frenchmen, Spaniards, Portuguese, Dutchmen and Danes in the early modern centuries made the Atlantic Ocean the inland sea of Western civilization; they made it an his-

<sup>6</sup> Walter Lippmann, *U. S. War Aims* (Boston, 1944), pp. 63-88.

torical and geographical extension of the Mediterranean. . . . Many of these early-forged bonds still span the Atlantic, and the spread of British, French, and American ideals of liberty and constitutional government has made this oceanic region the citadel of what today is rather loosely called Democracy.<sup>7</sup>

Of such an Atlantic community and the European civilization basic to it, we Americans are co-heirs and co-developers, and probably in the future the leaders. If we are successfully to discharge our heavy and difficult postwar responsibilities, we shall not further weaken, but rather strengthen, the consciousness and bonds of this cultural community.

Against it, militate two current trends of quite contradictory character. One, which I have already indicated, is the nationalistic tendency to view each nation as *sui generis*, and to attribute to it an independent and distinctive culture all its own. The second is the hypothesizing of a "world civilization." This has already passed from the fictional titles of high-school textbooks to the solemn pronouncements of statesmen. It represents a leap from myopic nationalism to starry-eyed universalism. I, for one, have not the faintest idea what world civilization is. I know there are enduring and respectable civilizations in Moslem areas, in India, in China, and presumably in Japan. I also know there are considerable influences of such civilizations upon ours, and, especially in the material domain, heavy impacts by ours upon them. But the many existing civilizations still do not constitute a single "world civilization," and for a long time to come, I hazard, the common denominator among them is likely to be low—as low, I should suppose, as unadorned "human nature."

Neither devotion to one's nation nor idealization of the world at large should obscure the important cultural entities which lie between. These are the powerhouses of civilization for their constituent nationalities, and the units which must be brought into co-operation for any world order of the future. The one to which Americans belong is the "European" or "Western." It has conditioned our past. And whether we are aware of it, or not, it conditions our present and future.

In what does it consist? First, in the Greco-Roman tradition, with its rich heritage of literature and language, of philosophy, of architecture and art, of law and political concepts. Second, in the Judeo-Christian tradition, with its fructifying ethos and ethics, its abiding and permeating influence on personal and social behavior, its constant distinctions between the individual and the race, between liberty and authority, between mercy and justice, between what

<sup>7</sup> Ross Hoffman, "Europe and the Atlantic Community," *Thought*, XX (March, 1945), 25. See also his *The Great Republic* (New York, 1942) and *Durable Peace* (New York, 1944).

is Caesar's and what is God's. Third, proceeding from joint effects of the first two, it comprises traditions of individualism, of limitations on the state, of social responsibility, of revolt and revolution. Fourth, likewise proceeding from the others, particularly from the Christian tradition, it includes a tradition of expansiveness, of missionary and crusading zeal, which has inspired not merely a spasmodic but a steady pushing outward of European frontiers—from the Mediterranean to the Arctic and across the Atlantic, in turn over lands of Celts, Germans, Slavs, Magyars, and Scandinavians, over the full width of both American continents, and beyond to the Philippines and Australasia and into Africa.

In all these characteristics of European or Western civilization, every nationality of central and western Europe and of America shares. In measure as the frontier advances and is civilized, it is these characteristics which actuate and are embodied in the civilization. The United States is no exception.

One does not have to go to Athens and Rome to behold Greek and Roman architecture, or to Palestine and Europe to see Jewish synagogues and Christian churches. There are more churches and synagogues in the United States than in any other country in the world. There is more classical architecture in Leningrad or London than in Athens, and still more in Washington. It is indeed the practically official architecture of our American democracy from Jefferson to Hoover, and the favorite style for bank buildings, railway stations, and public schools, whether in Virginia or Illinois or the Far West. Our prevailing language continues to be transatlantic English, and distinctively American only in pronunciation and raciness of idiom. Shakespeare and Milton are as much ours as England's. Our juristic conceptions and legal usages are likewise transatlantic, and I know of no philosophical speculation on this continent, in the whole gamut from the pragmatic to the Thomistic, or on any subject from theological to scientific, including political and economic, which has not had its equivalent and usually its antecedent in Europe.

If we belonged to a Moslem or Confucian culture, or to a purely indigenous one, we would not have the mores which we have. We would not, for instance, be free on Sundays for church or golf or for surreptitious privacy in library or laboratory. Probably we would not use knives and forks, and we would wear different clothes. We might be more ceremonial and more externally polite. We might think, as well as behave, differently. Our sense of values and our frames of reference could not be quite the same. We are what



we are only in part because of biological heredity and physical environment. In larger part it is because we are stamped from infancy with a historic culture of singularly educative and perduring potency.

## V

The area of this common Western culture centers in the Atlantic and extends eastward far into Europe and along African shores, from Norway and Finland to Cape Town, and westward across all America, from Canada to Patagonia. It is the "Atlantic Community." Present concern with it is not one merely of historic roots or of antiquarian curiosity, or even of culture in the narrow sense of the word. Now, at the end of the second World War, when the United States projects its world-wide leadership into postwar reconstruction and the organization and maintenance of international peace and security, the Atlantic community assumes a crucial and very practical importance. It can be the balance between Eurasian Russia and the Far East, on one hand, and ourselves, on the other. In its solidarity is the safest guarantee of future world peace and of our own security and well-being as a nation. To quote Mr. Lippmann:

The Atlantic Community is no figment of the imagination. It is a reality. We ignored and neglected it at our peril. Twice we have had to restore it at prodigious cost. In this (latest) war the community is operating as a single strategic and logistic system under the combined chiefs of staff. . . . The combined command extends to the limits of the responsibilities and vital interests of this community. Thus it does not extend to Russia or to China. They are allies in a world coalition. With us they are the founding members of a world order of peace. . . . [But they] are not members of the integral community of nations facing the Atlantic Ocean who must, by the inexorable necessity of things, *combine* for their security and their survival. We can come to good and solid terms with China and with Russia, but only by recognizing, not by ignoring, this reality. And certainly we shall never come to good and solid terms with them, nor could they come to such with us, if our own system, the Atlantic Community, disintegrates.<sup>8</sup>

We have indeed paid heavily for past shortsightedness. We failed to recognize that our intervention in the first World War was to prevent the disintegration of the Atlantic community and that our ensuing task should have been, in our own interests, to strengthen and guarantee it. In this respect, the French in 1919-1920 were more realistic than we. If we had joined France and Britain in the League of Nations and especially if, within the framework of the League, we had ratified the treaty of military guarantees which President Wilson signed with Clemenceau and Lloyd George, who can doubt that the world and we ourselves would have been spared much of the later "blood, sweat, and tears"?

<sup>8</sup> Lippmann, pp. 67-68.

As soon as the madly nationalist-imperialist Hitler catapulted himself to supreme power in Germany in 1933, it should have been evident that not merely his next-door neighbors but the whole Atlantic community, and with it our Western civilization, was threatened. I need not dwell on our ignorance and unconcern during the six or eight ensuing years, or on the lack of preparedness and energy displayed by England and France when first in 1939 they moved to arrest the threat. When in 1941, chiefly through the efforts of an unusually enlightened and historically minded President, Franklin Roosevelt, we became the "arsenal of democracy," it was to fortify the Atlantic citadel, and, as a means to the same end, to help our Russian friends on the other side of the enemy.

Eventually, when Japan attacked us and directly involved us in the second World War, the most elementary exigencies of military strategy demanded that, in order to settle the score in the Far East, we should defend the Atlantic community, buttress Britain, secure the Iberian peninsula, and salvage France and Italy. This is why an army of ours landed and fought in North Africa, thereby demonstrating, as Professor Hoffman has pithily said, "that 'from the halls of Montezuma to the shores of Tripoli' is a geopolitical truth!"<sup>9</sup> And it was this same international community, this same embodiment of our Western culture, which expressed its deepest instincts and unwittingly described its own nature in the Atlantic Charter.

Despite recent practical experience, there is still, I fear, a widespread idea in America that war or threats of war in Europe should exclusively concern the nations of that continent, and that they could be prevented if those nations would form a federal union, a United States of Europe, on the model of the United States of America. If they would only do so, we could sink back into at least hemispheric isolation and realize the happy goal of America for the Americans and Europe for the Europeans.

This is quite fantastic. It ignores the stubborn fact that variety of nationalities and multiplicity of national states are ineluctable characteristics of our Western civilization. The nations of Europe are fully as self-conscious and as devoted to national freedom as the United States itself. They are no more willing to be merged in a Pan-European superstate than we would be in a Pan-American. Just as force would be required to bring Argentina and Brazil into a federal union with the United States, so would it be required to merge the several European states into one. For the latter objective, the use of force has repeatedly been tried throughout the course of modern history, but has invariably proved a disastrous failure, whether by Charles V or Philip II, by

<sup>9</sup> Hoffman, in *Thought*, XX, 26.

Louis XIV or Napoleon, by William II or Adolf Hitler. All such attempts not only have aroused the hostility of purely European nations but have precipitated oversea wars involving America.

The purely European nations, even if they were minded to form a union, are too few and weak to maintain it; and the adherence of nations possessing empires or major interests outside Europe would have disintegrating, rather than consolidating, results. France and Holland, for instance, are African or Indonesian and even American powers, as well as European, while Spain and Portugal are tied, in trade and sentiment, less with the European continent than with their colonies or former colonies oversea. As for Britain and the Soviet Union, the problem would be utterly insoluble. Neither would join a United States of Europe without bringing into it a huge imperial domain outside Europe, in which case the federation would be dominated by one or the other, or, more likely, it would be the prey of conflict between the two. And this would be but prelude to another world war, again involving the United States. Not in an enforced or shaky European union but rather in a regional understanding among the nations of the Atlantic community are to be sought the peace and security of Europe and of ourselves, and the surest buttress of future world order.

Nor is there promise of security, or even validity, in the still more widely disseminated idea, within the United States, of an exclusive Pan-Americanism. We have grown so accustomed to thinking in geographical or narrowly political (and economic) grooves, and talking about "New World" and "Western Hemisphere," and fancying Pan-America to be a self-contained community of like-minded democratic republics, that we lose sight of the fact that Latin America is more closely related, in culture and outlook, with Latin Europe than with the United States. Moreover, that Pan-America is a very desirable and helpful association of frontier states does not render it a sufficiently strong bulwark of regional security unless it is conceived of and developed, militarily as well as culturally, as part of a larger Atlantic community.

This is precisely what military necessity has compelled us to do in the latest World War. For our own defense we sought the defense of all America, of the entire "New World." But for the successful defense of the "New World" we soon found that we must acquire a string of bases from Iceland down through the West Indies to Guiana and Brazil and over to the Azores, Casablanca, and Dakar, and eventually engage not only in the battle of the Atlantic but in the battles of Italy, France, and Germany. The defense of

America has required the defense of the whole Atlantic basin. And it will require it all the more in the era of airplane and atomic bomb.

If we learn this lesson, we shall recognize that the Pan American Union can never be developed into an effective regional security system unless Great Britain, France, the Netherlands, and Spain and Portugal participate in it, for by inexorable decrees of history and geography they belong to it. The permanent alliance projected at Chapultepec might well be extended to include them. Thereby we would be building, from small beginnings in the Monroe Doctrine, a mighty citadel of safety for the nations of the West and for the liberty and democracy we cherish.<sup>10</sup>

Moreover, we would thereby be restoring that equilibrium in world politics which is so indispensable to the successful operation of the new world league of United Nations devised at San Francisco. For, by discerning and taking our rightful place in an international regional community of which the Atlantic is the inland sea, we would be following an American foreign policy based alike on national interest and on enlightened concern for all the world's welfare. Ourselves secure in such a citadel, we could co-operate the more loyally and effectively, because the less suspiciously, with all the United Nations and do our full part in developing the new world order from wishful thinking to functioning reality. We could contribute more, rather than less, to the permanence of the settlements we must make with our Russian and Chinese friends in Asia and the Pacific, as well as those in Europe. Particularly we could rid ourselves of the craven fears of Soviet Russia which cost the world so dearly in the years between the two World Wars and which are by far the greatest menace to future peace and security. Being without fear, we could the more readily go hand in hand with the Soviet peoples along the road of material recovery and progress, and incidentally lend a stronger helping hand to China along the same road. All free states throughout the world could breathe more easily, and the world at large would have a better chance of adopting and maintaining the genuine democracy and liberty which are the glory of historic European civilization and especially of its American frontier.

## VI

There will doubtless be dissent from the thesis I have here advanced, and from its implications. May I suggest, however, that, among us, dissent be attended by informed thought rather than by nationalist emotion. In the past,

<sup>10</sup> This point is elaborated in an illuminating article by Ross Hoffman, "The West and Soviet Eurasia," *The Sign*, XXV (August, 1945), 5-8.

American historians, by concentrating their thought and labor more and more on the United States and its western frontier, have contributed immeasurably to the conscious solidifying, in time and space, of the great independent Republic of the New World. Now, when the Republic's old frontier, completing its westward march, has disappeared from the American continent and been superseded by new and quite different frontiers on distant isles of the Pacific, in the Azores, and on the Rhine and Danube, our historians, whether they agree or not with my particular views, might appropriately devote more attention to fields which have hitherto been relatively neglected and whose cultivation will be conducive to clearer appreciation in this country of its historic setting and current responsibilities.

It is no longer a question of creating a great American nation. It is now a question of preserving and securing this nation in a world of nations. Nor is it now a question of isolationism versus internationalism. This has finally been determined by the Senate's almost unanimous ratification of the Charter of the United Nations. The question now is whether as a nation we are going to be sufficiently informed and intelligent about foreign conditions, sufficiently freed from provincialism, to ensure the effective operation of the United Nations' organization in the best interest of ourselves and of world peace. Toward satisfactory solution of this question, American historians, if they will, can make major contributions.

One contribution would be to put much greater emphasis than in the past on cultural history—on the history of language and literature, of religion and church, of art and science, of intellectual currents, and of the transit of culture. Our national past and present, like the world's at large, are only partially explicable in terms of industrial and material development; and I would hope that the "economic interpretation," which has had such stimulating and valuable influence on historical research and writing during the past half century, might now be qualified and supplemented by a broader "cultural interpretation." There is doubtless already a trend in this direction. It is evidenced in a considerable number of recent monographs, and especially in the important co-operative *History of American Life* edited by Professor Schlesinger and the late President Fox. It requires, however, for its confirmation and proper fruitage much deepening and broadening and a much larger number of scholarly investigators and writers. It is cultural considerations, let me stress, which most profoundly affect American relationships with the world, not only of the past, but of the present and future.

I hope, too, that we shall not lose sight of the continuity of history. There

is a pronounced tendency in the United States to dwell on the "newness" and "uniqueness" of the "New World" and our "new nation"—new freedom, new frontier, new deal, new knowledge, new thought—and to accept a cataclysmic view of history. Serious historical scholars know—or should know—that such striking events as the invention of gunpowder or of printing, the discovery of America, the Protestant Reformation, the French Revolution, the American Revolution, were not really cataclysmic, that they merely speeded some continuous process long previously under way and left untouched vastly more habits of human thought and action than they altered. With this knowledge well in mind, we should be very skeptical of contemporary popular notions concerning the cataclysmic character of the Russian Revolution, the second World War, or even the atomic bomb. We may confidently expect that the world of the future will continue to be mainly the world of the past. The principal threads of our historic Western culture, like those of the Chinese or Moslem cultures, have not suddenly been cut in A.D. 1945. Unconsciously if not consciously, whether we like it or not, we shall go right on in the Greco-Roman and Judeo-Christian traditions. It would be realistic to recognize the fact.

Of course, there is change, and what may properly be called progress, in America and in the world. But how are we to gauge it or to try intelligently to direct it without relating it to the constants and continuities in human experience? American history should, of course, be taught in our schools—more, rather than less, American history—but it should not be taught as beginning with the political independence of a new nation in 1776 or even with the discovery of a New World in 1492. To understand what America really is, of what actually it is a frontier, its history should be studied continuously from at least the ancient Greeks and the first Christians.

Finally, I would earnestly urge that greater attention be paid to comparative history. The comparative method is the surest means of diminishing racial, political, religious, and national prejudices. As the distinguished Belgian historian Henri Pirenne has written:

These prejudices ensnare him who, confined within the narrow limits of national history, is condemned to understand it badly because he is incapable of comprehending the bonds attaching it to the histories of other nations. It is not due to *parti pris* but because of insufficient information that so many historians lack impartiality. One who is lost in admiration of his own people will inevitably exaggerate their originality and give them the honor for discoveries which are in reality only borrowed. He is unjust to others because he fails to understand them, and the exclusiveness of his knowledge lays him open to the deceptions of the idols set up by sentiment. The comparative method permits history to appear in its true

perspective. What was believed to be a mountain is razed to the size of a molehill, and the thing for which national genius was honored is often revealed as a simple manifestation of the imitative spirit.<sup>11</sup>

The student of the history of the United States, whether dealing with its political, economic, or cultural development, would be the better historian and the more enlightening if he was a specialist also in the history of a foreign country from which comparisons and contrasts could be drawn. Similarly, the student of the history of a foreign country could profitably extend his study beyond that country. Most of all, the historian of a particular phenomenon, such as nationalism, slavery, democracy, the frontier, etc., however specific in time or space may be his immediate work, must needs possess, if his work is to be informed and judicious, a wide background of acquaintance with other and comparable examples of the phenomenon.

In summary, the American frontier is a frontier of European or "Western" culture. This culture, however modified by or adapted to peculiar geographical and social conditions in America or elsewhere, is still, in essential respects, the culture and hence a continuous bond of the regional community of nations on both sides of the Atlantic. Like its predecessor and inspirer, the Mediterranean community of ancient times, the Atlantic community has been an outstanding fact and a prime factor of modern history. Despite the growth in latter years of an anarchical nationalism and isolationism on one hand, and of a utopian universalism on the other, the Atlantic community has lost none of its potential importance for us and for the world. We must look anew to it and strengthen our ties with it, if we are to escape the tragedy of another world war and ensure the blessings of liberty and democracy to future generations. To this end the historical guild in America can immeasurably contribute by extending the use of the comparative method, by emphasizing the continuity of history, and by stressing cultural and social, equally with political and economic, history.

<sup>11</sup> Henri Pirenne, "What Are Historians Trying to Do?" in *Methods in Social Science*, ed. by Stuart A. Rice (Chicago, 1931), pp. 444-45



# French Military Institutions before the Franco-Prussian War

ARPAD F. KOVACS\*

THE great paradox of military legislation in the nineteenth century is that the principle of the nation-in-arms established by the French Revolution in 1793 with the *levée en masse* was subsequently developed by Prussia but repudiated by the country of its birth.<sup>1</sup> Only after the catastrophic defeats of 1870 did the French again acknowledge the importance of mass in war. The law of 1872 marked the first step toward the re-establishment of the armed nation. However, opposition remained strong, and not until 1905, and even then only because of the political upheaval of the Dreyfus affair, could parliament make military service really equal and compulsory for all.

The National Assembly in 1872 and, a generation later, the parliament of the *Coalition des gauches* carefully examined the reasons why the *levée en masse* of the Revolution had been abandoned.<sup>2</sup> The reasons were, so they concluded, distrust of the masses and of the democratic and equalitarian tendencies of the national army born of Revolutionary enthusiasm. Adolphe Thiers, first president of the Third Republic, summed up this attitude by saying that it was not safe to place a gun on the shoulder of every Socialist. With the memories of the Paris Commune fresh in their minds many Frenchmen readily agreed. Previous regimes, plagued by memories of other mob violence, had professed even more extreme views. They had taken great care to organize politically reliable troops useful for conducting foreign wars or for suppressing revolutions at home. From 1805, when Napoleon I abolished the system of the nation-in-arms, to 1905, when it was fully restored, France had different military organizations depending on the interests of the ruling classes or individuals.

Prior to the rise of national armies there were two types of soldiers,

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<sup>1</sup> For a comprehensive discussion of the adaptation of the nation-in-arms in Prussia, cf. Guy Stanton Ford, "Boyer's Military Law," *American Historical Review*, XX (April, 1915), 528-38.

<sup>2</sup> *Annales de l'Assemblée nationale*, VIII (1872), annex 975, pp. 88-124; *Annales de la Chambre des Députés, Documents*, LXVI<sup>1</sup> (1904), annex 1553, pp. 141-232. Both documents are the official reports of the military committees. Their introductory parts contain invaluable historical information. Hereafter the first will be referred to as *Report of 1872* and the second as *Report of 1904*.

mercenaries and militiamen; the latter were volunteers without previous training who fought only in defense of the homeland. The American Revolution, with Washington's militiamen on the one side and George III's professionals on the other, is the classic example of a major war waged with these two types of soldiers. One lacked what the other possessed in abundance. The mercenaries fought for no cause, whereas the militiamen were imbued with the spirit of '76. But, in contrast to the Hessians, who were cogs in a machine, the militiamen could not fight in close order and had to borrow tactics from the Indian.

For the first time since the Macedonian phalanx and the Roman legion the two types were fused in one army in the French Revolution. The famous decree of August 25, 1793, ordering the *levée en masse* created a national militia, and an earlier decree had ordered the establishment of mixed regiments composed of battalions of national guards and professional soldiers of the Old Regime. This *amalgame* produced the invincible armies of the Revolution. A century later the parliament of the *Coalition des gauches*, the spiritual successors of the Jacobins, after a careful study of the Revolutionary wars, stated with admiration that the French soldiers of 1794-1795 showed a care-free attitude toward the hardships and dangers of the campaign, youthful enthusiasm for the fatherland which gave them liberty, and a horror of privileges together with a love of equality. Moreover, they exhibited no mercenary impulses but, on the contrary, a longing to return home after a victorious campaign, and always they had great respect for personal rights and private property. They had, in fact, the noblest spirit. The document drawn up by the military committee of the chamber sums the matter up as follows: "We arrive at the conclusion that the armies of '94 and '95 offer the perfect models of republican armies and are the purest historical expression of the nation-in-arms."<sup>8</sup>

This model military organization did not last very long. After its victories had saved the Revolution and when the troops were required to fight on foreign soil, the great appeal of *La patrie en danger!* died down. The interminable campaigns of the Directory made conscription necessary, a move which encountered great opposition on the part of those who saw in compulsion of any sort—unless justified by an emergency—the violation of the principle of individual liberty so dear to the Revolution. In fact the National Assembly of 1789 had rejected compulsory military service on these very grounds. Even the Convention had hesitated to make the *levée en masse*

<sup>8</sup> Report of 1904, p. 144.

applicable to all. Exceptions were made in certain cases by allowing replacement, that is, hiring some one else to serve.<sup>4</sup>

During the corrupt regime of the Directory this practice became more widespread. Napoleon did not discourage it and in 1802 introduced another method of escape, the drawing of lots. The rich could completely exempt themselves from military service through replacement and now the poor, too, if they were lucky in the draft lottery. The unfortunates who drew "bad numbers" could blame fate and not the ambitious first consul. In 1805 Napoleon abolished the *levée en masse* legalized by the Directory in 1797. Thus the principle of individual liberty combined with graft and dictatorial ambition in weakening and ultimately in abolishing the doctrine of equal obligations in war, the logical counterpart of the doctrine of equal rights in peace.

Napoleon's aim was to create an elite force devoted only to him. When organizing the Grand Army in the camp of Boulogne, he carefully separated the soldiers from the population, discouraged the republican and equalitarian spirit of the Revolution, cultivated pride in the military profession, and aroused greed and ambition by means of distinctions, privileges, and rewards. The citizen element with its civic spirit and devotion to country gradually disappeared and was replaced by professional-minded veterans who, attracted by high pay and the promise of an adventurous career, were glad to re-enlist for long service.

The country looked upon the army as something separate from the nation and lost interest in national defense because the troops were always campaigning in foreign lands. After 1805 the French army rapidly lost its national character. Napoleon, playing upon the mercenary instincts of his men, restored the professional system of the Old Regime. The French tolerated it as long as it did not involve them in personal military obligation. When, however, conscription in a very ruthless form was re-established, after the disastrous retreat from Moscow, dissatisfaction appeared, mutinies broke out, and desertion became widespread. Napoleon had brought much military glory to his nation but the price was too exorbitant, and so the principle of the nation-in-arms, completely discredited, went down with him at Waterloo.

To the great delight of the people, the constitutional charter of 1814 abolished conscription.<sup>5</sup> Whatever popularity the Bourbons enjoyed after the Restoration was in no small measure due to this act. In fact until the Franco-Prussian War no regime dared to reintroduce it. In 1818 Marshal Gauvion Saint-Cyr proposed an organic law which remained the basis of French mili-

<sup>4</sup> Intendant General Mazars, "Conscription et recrutement," *Revue d'histoire*, XVIII (1939), 119-45.

<sup>5</sup> Report of 1872, p. 88.

tary legislation up to 1870. Since the drawing of lots had proved to be the most popular measure in Napoleon's system, Saint-Cyr suggested its reintroduction on a limited scale, drafting only one third of the annual contingent. This was not conscription, remarks the *Exposé des motifs*, the document drawn up by the military committee of the National Assembly in 1872. It was only recruiting, which did not mean universal service. It designated by lot those who must serve but was not concerned at all with the rest of the availables. Here was born the most pernicious concept of the post-Revolutionary era, the principle of complete exemption or liberation reserved for the privileged. Though it was up to the lottery to decide, fate, as Napoleon showed, could be well managed. As a last resort, replacement could always exempt the rich. The Bourbons, like Napoleon, were anxious not to antagonize the most influential elements of the population. "This explains," concludes the *Exposé*, "how the principle of the law of 1818 became part of our customs and never gave rise to complaints as did conscription."<sup>6</sup> The complaints of the poor did not count.

Having been put back on their throne by European powers, the Bourbons feared no danger from abroad. The French army under the Restoration consisted of only 250,000 men because those in authority believed that politically reliable troops could be formed only of men broken into unquestioning obedience through long years of service. Once released from the iron discipline of the barracks, soldiers acquired civilian habits and might become infected with dangerous political doctrines. A professional soldier, serving continuously, was preferred to reservists recalled from civilian life. In 1824 the term of service was extended from six to eight years and the reserve abolished. The Revolutionary concept of mass gave way to an "army of quality."

In 1830 the July Monarchy aroused the hostility of the former members of the Holy Alliance, and the specter of invasion again raised its head. The government decided to double the effectives. Marshal Soult prepared an ambitious program to build up a reserve of 250,000 men by the increase of the draft and the reduction of the term of service. But the chamber of peers, fearful of political unreliability, threw out the project. Vested interests under the bourgeois monarchy needed trustworthy professional soldiers as badly as they needed the prestige of throne and altar during the Restoration. But the danger of invasion still hovered over the country; so an ingenious system was introduced by which the number of recruits was increased to 80,000 a year—double the number called up by the law of 1818—and these were then divided into two parts. Paragraph 29 of the law of 1832 declares: "The army will be

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 89.

composed of the portions which are the result of the annual laws of the budget and contingent, that is the effectives under the colors, and of the men either left home or sent home.”<sup>7</sup>

The second “portion” named in the law, the *deuxième portion*, received no training whatsoever. These men merely remained on the lists for the duration of the service, which was reduced to seven years. In war they were to be called to supplement the standing army. The reason for this measure was to maintain only professional soldiers as effectives because such a policy, besides producing a more reliable army, reduced the burden of military service to a small percentage of the population. The fewer the people who had to face this odious task the less criticism there would be of the regime. It was explained that this paper reserve received no training because if war broke out and they had to be called “they would arrive more voluntarily than those who already knew the burden of the barracks and the inconveniences of the profession.” The report of 1872 adds significantly: “This is the system which prevailed, please do not forget, until very recent years.”<sup>8</sup>

The term of service of the first portion was long, seven years, but at least the law offered the consolation that once the term was completed all further military obligation ceased, even in time of war. Thus French military legislation up to 1832 produced one definite result. It strictly limited military service as regards the portion of the contingent, the number of men, and the term of service. Outside these narrow limits there was complete freedom, guaranteed above all to the rich.

The law of 1832 also regulated replacement. Anyone who hired a substitute to serve in his place purchased his exemption in peace as well as in war. But if the substitute deserted and could not be caught within a year, another had to be hired. Owing to the low esteem in which soldiering was held—and the system of replacement was only one reflection of it—substitution became so widespread that families contracted debts out of proportion to their income to save their sons from the army. Sense of duty and patriotic sacrifice, the mainsprings of morale in every army, sank to a low level. Indeed one cannot help agreeing with the authors of the project of 1904 in their conclusion that the law of 1832, by paving the way for the mercenary army of Napoleon III, sent France down the road leading to the disasters of 1870.

Louis Napoleon took over this system with its excellent possibilities for further elaboration to suit his ambition. In 1855 he made replacement so general that it amounted to a fee paid for dispensation from military service.

<sup>7</sup> *Moniteur universel*, Mar. 25, 1832.

<sup>8</sup> As quoted in *Report of 1904*, p. 145.

Hitherto substitution was the private concern of the individual who wished to be replaced. Bad as it was, the old method at least preserved the element of personal responsibility, a residuum of the Revolutionary idea of universal obligation and personal effort. Napoleon abolished this with the introduction of exoneration, as the new system was called, that is, the payment of from 2,000 to 2,500 francs. There was no more personal hiring of substitutes. The fees of exoneration flowed into a special fund called the *caisse de dotation* out of which were paid the mercenaries who from now on were to make up the bulk of the French army.<sup>9</sup>

It was not difficult to get applicants. Noncommissioned officers and men, after completing their regular term of service, were induced to re-enlist with much higher pay. Those who had distinguished themselves or had shown great zeal for the service were enrolled in the Imperial Guard, which meant life tenure with pension. Voluntary enlistments for long terms were also encouraged with immediate payment of high premiums. It was easy to select the politically reliable among volunteers, whereas the draft, operating with the lottery, left too much to chance. The contingent of conscripts dwindled to 20,000 annually, which, with the seven-year service, furnished a total of 140,000 men while the number of volunteers, re-enlisted soldiers, the Imperial Guard, and other permanent elements totaled 260,000.<sup>10</sup> Because they were carefully indoctrinated in personal devotion to their master, Napoleon III could rely on this mercenary force, just as the Roman emperors relied on the Praetorian Guard.

Under this system the French army ceased to be a national force and the status of the conscript sank lower and lower in the social scale. Those who drew bad numbers and could not pay the fee of exoneration were considered the outcasts of society. To avoid the social stigma every effort was made by the parents of recruits to scrape together the ransom money. Insurance companies regularly advertised policies against death, fire, flood, hailstorm—and military service, the greatest of calamities.<sup>11</sup> The system was extremely unjust because the poor had to pay the military tax in the form of seven years of their lives whereas the rich could escape all obligation.

The third Napoleon's military organization, carefully built around a large group of professionals, had one conspicuous weakness, lack of reserves. While this weakness had been evident in the armies of the Restoration and the July Monarchy because of their preference for professional soldiers, it affected

<sup>9</sup> "Loi relative à la création de la dotation de l'armée, au rengagement, au remplacement et aux pensions militaires," *Moniteur*, Apr. 29, 1855.

<sup>10</sup> *Mémoires du Maréchal Randon* (Paris, 1877), II, 182.

<sup>11</sup> General Louis Trochu, *L'armée française en 1867* (Paris, 1868), p. 59.

Napoleon's army to a far greater extent because he reduced the number of conscripts to a fraction of the contingent inducted under the other two regimes. The Second Empire rested on a less secure foundation than the Bourbons, whose regime was guaranteed by the European powers, or Louis Philippe, who agreed to be a constitutional king. Napoleon had to create artificial guarantees of power by surrounding himself with a Praetorian Guard. If, like the previous rulers, he had inducted every year 60,000 to 80,000 men and had released them to civilian life after some years of active duty, a substantial reserve could have been built up. Twenty thousand was insufficient. Also, aside from his preference for "Praetorians," his military policy was hampered by lack of funds. Having exhausted the treasury with his expensive professional army and glittering Imperial Guard, he had no money left to train the *deuxième portion* of the contingent. This was the crux of the situation.

In the Crimean and Italian wars, even though the draft was raised to 140,000 annually, the reserve remained low. In 1856 it was 77,000, in 1859 only 74,000.<sup>12</sup> In the Italian war the emperor had to conclude the armistice of Villafranca because the Prussian government decided to send troops to the Rhine. Lacking reserves, Napoleon could not counteract this measure and in his embarrassment cut short the victorious campaign, to the dismay of his allies and the astonishment of Europe. Only 100,000 men were needed but the emperor did not have them.<sup>13</sup> The glory of Solferino faded away quickly. After this bitter lesson the emperor ordered that the *deuxième portion* of the contingent be given five months of basic training beginning in 1861, but the measure was indifferently carried out because of perennial financial difficulties. In the spring of 1866, when the differences between Austria and Prussia threatened to break out into open conflict, the training was speeded up, but even then the men were with the colors only three months in the first and two in the second year.<sup>14</sup>

The rapid and spectacular victory of Prussia in the war against the German Confederation gave a terrible jolt to the lethargic government of Napoleon. The emergence of a new military power beyond the Rhine shook the Second Empire to its foundations. The position France had held for centuries as the leading power of Europe was now seriously threatened. On May 3,

<sup>12</sup> Comte de la Chapelle, *Les forces militaires de la France en 1870* (Paris, 1872), p. 106, and *Mémoires du Maréchal Randon*, II, 183. From the nominal contingent of 80,000 as set by the law of 1832 the draft in 1852 was raised by imperial decree to 100,000, also a nominal sum, because the two portions of the contingent were retained. The law of 1855 made these paper reserves even more illusory.

<sup>13</sup> Count Henry de Larègle, "Napoleon III et le Maréchal Randon," *Correspondant*, CCXL (1910), 6.

<sup>14</sup> "Exposé de la situation de l'empire," *Moniteur*, Nov. 23, 1867, p. 1449.



1866, the historian Adolphe Thiers predicted in the *Corps législatif* that Prussia, if victorious, would unite Germany under her hegemony and that the European balance would be overthrown. To tolerate such a revolution would be "to commit high treason against the interests of France."<sup>15</sup>

Napoleon had to take up the challenge, or the days of his regime would be numbered. The question of the reserve became more urgent than ever because what had been lacking so conspicuously in the French military organization was, as the war had proved, very abundant in the Prussian system. Since the reforms of General von Roon in 1861 the Prussian army had trained 63,000 men annually. After three years of active service they were sent home but kept in the reserve for sixteen years, that is, two years in the reserve of the active army and the rest in the *Landwehr*. As Thiers had predicted, after Austria's defeat Prussia extended her hegemony, including her military system, over North Germany and thus increased the annual draft to 100,000 men. In contrast to this the French army, even after Sadowa (1866), was drafting only 56,000 men including the *deuxième portion*, and while the Prussian system imposed an obligation totaling nineteen years, France required only seven, in peace as well as in war. In the coming inevitable armament race with Prussia, whose high command could also count on the forces of the South German states, France, in a few years, would be helplessly outnumbered.

In spite of the threatening storm clouds the public did not share the anxieties of the government. Pampered by Napoleon's reluctance to impose personal military service upon Frenchmen unless they were very poor, the public, particularly the middle class, was unwilling to support a sweeping military reform. As a consequence of the draft lottery and the system of replacement and exoneration, the citizens loathed soldiering, and Sadowa did not make it more palatable for them. For political reasons they distrusted Napoleon's armament policy because at home the imperial army played the role of a huge police force while abroad it involved the nation in useless wars. In a memorandum written on May 1, 1859, the cousin of the emperor, Prince Napoleon, alarmed at the beginning of the Italian war by the hostile attitude of Germany, suggested an energetic military program.<sup>16</sup> He advocated increasing the number of effectives by hiring volunteers in the cities and paying them well. The country districts were to be left as the "nursery of the regular Army." In the cities he hoped the war would create great unemployment and all the idle and the "outcasts" would flock to the colors. There was a certain degree of logic in this attitude which proposed that the scum of the

<sup>15</sup> *Annales du Sénat et du Corps législatif*, V (1866), 79.

<sup>16</sup> Ernest D'Hauterive, ed., *The Correspondence of the Emperor Napoleon III and His Cousin, Prince Napoleon*, tr. by Herbert Wilson (London, 1926), appendix, note II.

population should be used as cannon fodder. But the prince expected even the sons of the rich to be carried away by patriotic enthusiasm and to join the army. Unfortunately, instead of the thousands of volunteers he hoped for, the only result of the war was that the petitions for exoneration jumped from 23,000 to 42,000.<sup>17</sup>

In the same memorandum Prince Napoleon complained that the bourgeois classes were hostile in spite of the Italian war and that their "unbridled fury against the Emperor surpasses all conception." Napoleon, knowing the temper of the public, had to proceed cautiously. First a trial balloon was sent up to test popular reaction. On September 16, 1866, the *Moniteur universel* published a tentative military program suggesting the establishment of a French equivalent of the Prussian *Landwehr*. The announcement created universal ill will. One prefect reporting the public reaction in his district commented on the *Landwehr* idea, "This semi-barbarous system is incompatible with the customs, the education and the wealth of a great nation."<sup>18</sup>

The angry reception of the plan augured ill for the future, but there was no way out of the military predicament. A fundamental change of policy was dictated by the inexorable course of events in Germany. The power of Prussia, based on masses of well-trained men, a modern form of the *amalgame*, had to be balanced with something more than an elite army of professional soldiers. At the beginning of October, 1866, Napoleon announced to the minister of war that he had decided henceforth to include the entire class of 160,000 able-bodied men in the draft, divide them into two portions by the drawing of numbers, and maintain the seven-year service; but he would allow members of the first portion who had completed three years of active duty to have themselves exonerated. He explained:

This system would have the advantage that the weight of the conscription would not rest on the shoulders of the poorest classes, would include in the army young men with education and at the same time would not diminish the resources of the *caisse de dotation* because after three years of service exoneration would be permitted.<sup>19</sup>

In other words he was ready to accept the principle of universal obligation, though in actual practice there would again be gross inequalities which would benefit the rich. Exoneration would continue paying for the body-guard de luxe, the principal prop of the Second Empire. In this statement

<sup>17</sup> Report of 1872, p. 91.

<sup>18</sup> Gordon Wright, "Public Opinion and Conscription in France 1866-1870," *Journal of Modern History*, XIV (1942), 28.

<sup>19</sup> Napoleon III to Marshal Randon, Biarritz, Oct. 2, 1866, *Mémoires du Maréchal Randon*, II, 195.

the emperor both condemned his system and at the same time revealed the weakness of his personal regime.

The program so briefly and abruptly announced indicated the master's impatience with his minister of war, who, drawing up memorandum after memorandum on the problem of the reserve, could not free himself from the old preference for professional soldiers. During his sojourn in Biarritz the emperor often consulted with Marshal Niel, an experienced officer with shrewd political discernment. Correctly gauging the attitude of the masses and the dependence of the emperor on his private force of professionals, he realized that the limits of an army reform were narrowly prescribed. He regarded French military laws as the reflection of the spirit of the people which would never allow the application of universal service.<sup>20</sup> Napoleon disagreed. He still hoped to be able to initiate some fundamental legislation and, returning to Paris, called a grand military council to discuss the reform and to draw up plans. In any event, if the effort miscarried, he could put the blame on others.

As soon as the grand council met, the civilian ministers, knowing the temper of the public and the strength of the opposition in the *Corps législatif*, protested against the very idea of universal service. The president of the *Conseil d'état* declared that obligatory service would take away the right of the legislature to vote the annual contingent. The financial prerogatives of the chamber, only recently granted, were surely not going to be rescinded again. The emperor left the meeting.<sup>21</sup> A smaller group led by General Trochu advocated the national system based on universal equal service of three years. It met with the displeasure of the emperor because the nation-in-arms could be organized only at the expense of his professionals. Since Trochu's proposal was as obnoxious to the civilian ministers as Napoleon's program, they sided with Marshal Niel, whose plan to solve the problem of the reserve envisaged a militia-like organization modeled on the National Guard of the Revolution and of the bourgeois monarchy. Naturally Niel's plan carefully avoided suggesting any fundamental changes in the organization of the standing army, which pleased the generals. The politicians, on the other hand, were delighted about the "citizens in uniform." The project, in consequence, easily obtained the majority. It was a shrewd compromise based on the traditional forms of military organization and legally justifiable because it respected the laws of 1818 and 1832.

<sup>20</sup> André Bécheyras, "La question militaire à la veille de la guerre de 1870," *La revue critique*, XXI (1913), 385-402. Bécheyras and Wright, both using unpublished archival material, are the best sources for the legislative struggle provoked by the military reform.

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*, XXI, 391.

After secretly instructing the prefects to report on the reaction of the people, the government published the plan on December 11, 1866.<sup>22</sup> Like Napoleon's Biarritz letter, it advocated the extension of military training to the entire contingent so that one part of it would serve with the regulars, another with the *deuxième*, and, as a great innovation, there was to be a third, called the *Garde nationale mobile*, in short, the mobiles, to be trained only ten weeks spread out over five years. Each portion was to produce an army of 400,000 men. *La grande nation* was to match the might of upstart Prussia man for man.

The announcement produced an outcry of protest. The prefects reported that the population resented the abolition of "good numbers" most bitterly. Embarrassed, Napoleon hastily announced that nothing definite had been decided in the grand council and authorized the *Conseil d'état* to "elaborate" the project.<sup>23</sup> It was the man of Villafranca again, but this time Sadowa preceded the hurried decision and not Solferino.

After several changes the plan went to the military committee of the *Corps législatif*, which refused to consider it and drafted an independent proposal. Both plans were submitted to the chamber on December 13, 1867.<sup>24</sup> In other words, since the first announcement of the military reform more than a year had been wasted in endless petty arguments. Both plans fully agreed that the mobiles could not be under military authority. The *Exposé général* justified this provision after a careful examination of all the laws and projects proposed or enacted since 1818 on the organization of an auxiliary reserve to relieve the regular army from interior duties in time of war.<sup>25</sup> They all agreed, declared the spokesman of the military committee, Deputy Gressier, in the general debate, that in peace time the members of the national guard must remain outside military jurisdiction and that as long as they were not called they were to remain free citizens. This was the basic principle of French law, and the committee wished to remain true to tradition.<sup>26</sup>

While the two projects agreed on the status of the mobiles, they differed sharply on their training. The *Conseil d'état*, upholding Niel's ideas, proposed assemblies at the cantonal seats lasting six consecutive days. These meetings were not to be repeated more than twice a year, but in times when there was a danger of war, a special training period of a minimum of twenty days could

<sup>22</sup> Wright, in *Jour. Mod. Hist.*, XIV, 29.

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*, XIV, 32.

<sup>24</sup> Both analyzed at great length in an "Exposé général" published in *Moniteur*, Dec. 17, 1867.

<sup>25</sup> In the period 1818-49 alone ten proposals were submitted to the legislature. *Ibid.* See also the report of Deputy Gressier, in *ibid.*, Dec. 20, 1867, p. 601.

<sup>26</sup> "Exposé général," *ibid.*, Dec. 17, 1867.

be ordered with the consent of the legislature. In contrast to this plan the military committee proposed only brief exercises on Sunday mornings in the villages and three reviews a year at the cantonal seats lasting not longer than one day, including the time it took the participants to get there. In rejecting the plan of the *Conseil d'état* the committee argued that since the mobiles were under no military discipline the population of the cantonal centers could not be expected to house thousands of men during the training periods. The ardently defended principle that the mobiles must be outside of military control thus defeated the very purpose for which they were intended.

At first the majority of the deputies in the *Corps législatif* sided with the state council, though very reluctantly because, in general, the organization of an auxiliary reserve implied the hated idea of universal service and because, in particular, this plan interfered too much with the life of the agricultural population. The Republicans opposed it on principle. They attacked most violently the provision that the mobiles could be called in time of war by an imperial order. "What is war?" their spokesman asked. "Can the mobiles be called when we wage war in Mexico, in Italy or in Cochin China? The right to declare war rests with the Emperor. Let's not give him many of our fellow citizens to send to war."<sup>27</sup>

Marshal Niel made heroic efforts to save his plan. Gradually, he said, as the militia developed he would decrease the regular army, and with great optimism he predicted that the retired professional soldiers would furnish excellent officers for the mobiles. But the opposition would not hear of it, and Jules Favre asked him whether he wished to make a huge barracks out of France. The marshal promptly replied, "*Prenez garde d'en faire un cimetière.*"<sup>28</sup> His efforts availed little. Petitions against the military reform arrived from all parts of the country and the slogan *Il n'y aura plus de bons numéros* resulted in easy victories of radical deputies at by-elections. The government majority then began to press Niel to yield; otherwise, they said, they would be very unpopular with the electorate. Finally the military character of the mobiles was so emasculated that, as Deputy Gressier somewhat sarcastically remarked, even the village fire departments were receiving more training than the future national guard of France. The legislature, even more than the military committee, wished to remain faithful to the spirit of French tradition, which was expressed in a provision in the final text of the law. Concerning the status of the mobiles during their five years of service, it said: "During this time they continue to enjoy all their rights as citizens, can

<sup>27</sup> Speech of Jules Simon, *ibid.*, Dec. 21, 1867, p. 1585.

<sup>28</sup> He was asked to have these words struck out of the *compte rendu* because of its effect upon the population. He consented. Bécheyras, in *La revue critique*, XXI, 389.

marry freely, change domicile and residence, freely travel in France or abroad without reporting.”<sup>29</sup> This was the French reply to the “thunder of Sadowa.”

Completely free from military control the mobiles, especially in the cities and particularly in Paris, often refused to practice during their assemblies and organized political demonstrations or turned to rioting. Reaction to this form of soldiering in military circles became so great and the *Corps législatif* was so parsimonious in voting funds for it that Marshal Le Boeuf, Niel’s successor, abandoned the whole scheme. On the eve of the war with Prussia he declared, referring to the mobiles, “*C’est une institution qui n’existe que sur le papier.*”<sup>30</sup> Indeed the law creating the mobiles achieved nothing although it was the essential part of Niel’s proposal for the solution of the problem of the reserve. The marshal, having no illusions about the attitude of the public, had hoped that a militia with two weeks’ training a year would be adopted by the legislature. He met with bitter disappointment and, broken-hearted because in this most critical period of national existence the French people refused to shoulder even these light burdens, died soon after the failure of his plan.

As to the regular army, the reform plan contained a great innovation. It raised the term of service from seven to nine years but to counteract the effect of this unpopular measure four out of the nine years were to be spent in the reserve where the men had no further obligation except in time of war. The report of the military committee expressly stated that in peace the status of the reserve was practically equivalent to full liberation, whereas in Prussia the reserve had to report for additional periods of “refresher” training. In spite of this concession the increase of the term of service was vehemently denounced by the opposition. The Republicans submitted a counterproject which proposed to abolish the standing army substituting for it the *levée en masse* prepared by brief training periods in camps. As Jules Simon admitted, they had copied the plan from the Swiss militia.<sup>31</sup> In a debate with Niel, Jules Favre summed up their position by pointing to the main difference between their ideals on military legislation and the view of the majority: “We insist on the civic spirit, the influence of the school and the family whereas you glorify the military spirit which, to be sure, has its good sides but is bound to be grossly exaggerated.”<sup>32</sup> They denounced the government program because it was the very negation of the equalitarian and democratic ideas of the century and, since it was prompted by the victories of Prussia, they suspected

<sup>29</sup> *Moniteur*, Feb. 4, 1868.

<sup>30</sup> *Ibid.*, July 1, 1870, p. 1142.

<sup>31</sup> *Ibid.*, Dec. 21, 1867, p. 1585.

<sup>32</sup> *Ibid.*, Dec. 25, 1867, p. 1611.



hidden aggressive intentions behind Napoleon's policy. They believed in pacifism. Their most powerful argument was that the reform really did not increase the army, that it merely irritated Germany. They offset the effect of this constructive criticism with the puerile assertion that the inevitable unification of Germany did not menace France because in the future *Reichstag* of a united Germany the French could count on powerful sympathies from the liberal parties whose strength after the incorporation of the South would become decisive.<sup>83</sup> Half a century later history repeated itself when the opposition against the military law of 1913 maintained that the Socialists in Germany would go on general strike if the kaiser ordered mobilization. Party doctrinarism bore strange fruits.

The proposal as drafted by the military committee passed without change. Since it still permitted replacement, the poor and illiterate elements filled the contingent of the first portion as before the reform. To them the legal distinctions which expressly stated that the four years of the reserve were full liberation *but only in peace* were meaningless. Accustomed to the regime of the law of 1832 which had established the principle that once liberated always liberated, *even in war*, the reserve of the regular army, the only one that counted in 1870, resented the call to arms, and, when they were forced to join the colors, disorder and confusion were the results. In other words the new law, by raising the term of service to nine years, proposed to create a war reserve which would cease to function the moment war broke out. So well hedged around with guaranties of liberty, which of course were also extended to the *deuxième portion*, the reserve could not be maintained as an organic part of the army. In most cases the men were ignorant of the regiment or company to which they belonged because of the national system of recruiting, and, more fatal than anything else, they received no instruction in the use of the chassepot rifle, introduced four years before the outbreak of the war.

The military reform, as it was finally explained in the *Moniteur universel* on February 4, 1868, achieved very meager results. A mere amendment of the law of 1832, its only major concession, the abolition of the practice of exoneration instituted by Napoleon, was made in the hope that the removal of the most obnoxious feature of his military system would deprive the opposition of an effective argument. The abolition of exoneration helped little because the *Corps législatif* substituted the replacement of the old law for it.<sup>84</sup> But with exoneration went the fees and the *caisse de dotation* so that special volunteers

<sup>83</sup> *Ibid.*, Dec. 21, p. 1589.

<sup>84</sup> In this connection it is interesting to note that when the motion was put to the Constituent National Assembly in 1848 to abolish replacement it was defeated by a vote of 663 to 140. Barthélemy Palat, *Histoire de la guerre de 1870-71* (Paris, 1901), II, 9.



and re-enlisted soldiers could not be hired in the same numbers as before. The charge of the opposition that the law merely excited the population but otherwise produced no tangible gains was therefore very well founded. The spokesman of the military committee openly admitted that the new law would, for the three or four years of its initial operation, actually diminish the effectives without producing any increase in the mobilizable strength of the army, and if war broke out, he added, the only remedy would be, as in the Crimean and Italian wars, to increase the draft as an emergency measure. This was disconcerting but it did not move the majority to cease their opposition. The main problem, a well-trained and well-organized reserve, remained unsolved. This was the policy which in 1870, after the Praetorians were captured by the Germans at Metz and at Sedan, left France without an army.

There was a small group in the *Corps législatif* whose members advocated the introduction of the Prussian system with two years of universal service because they deemed it more equalitarian in its operation and more national in its spirit. They received little support from the public, nor were they very well understood in parliament. Echoing the view expressed by the prefect who had condemned the Prussian military organization as a barbarous system, Marshal Niel replied to the proponents of the nation-in-arms that their plan would impose the most crushing burden as far as the population was concerned. The motion for the two-year service was easily defeated in 1867.

General Trochu, analyzing the military situation of this year, admitted that, like the experts of the army and the public in general, he too had been convinced before Sadowa that the Prussian standing army was merely a school for the *Landwehr* and that in war this army, looking so well on paper, would prove to be a very imperfect instrument, particularly at the beginning of the campaign.<sup>35</sup> After the spectacular victories of this "imperfect instrument" opinion changed little in spite of the sensational revelations of Trochu's book and in spite of the reports of the French military attaché in Berlin describing in great detail the large reserves, the excellent equipment, and the machine-like precision of the Prussian system. General Ducrot, stationed in Strasbourg, an excellent post of observation, wrote similar warnings.<sup>36</sup> The popular work of Trochu failed to move the public, and the confidential letters of the experts left the military authorities, including the emperor, indifferent. Like General De Gaulle in the 1930's they were prophets who received recognition only after disastrous events had proved that they were right.

<sup>35</sup> Trochu, p. 8.

<sup>36</sup> Colonel Eugène Stoffel, *Rapports militaires écrits de Berlin 1866-1870* (Paris, 1871) and *La vie militaire du Général Ducrot* (Strasbourg, 1895).

In the other countries of Europe, however, the general staffs hastened to draw conclusions from Prussia's successes and to translate them into military reforms, realizing that the modernized form of the nation-in-arms of the French Revolution held the secret of victory. The French, on the other hand, stubbornly refused to recognize their own invention. In 1870, aside from Russia, France was the only Continental power still clinging to the old system which depended on professional soldiers.

Writing after the disasters of 1870, General Trochu pointed out that it takes a long time for military institutions to exert their influence on the population, mold public opinion, and form permanent military habits. He recalled the naval disaster of Trafalgar, which was followed by no attempt to rebuild the fleet because there were no naval institutions and traditions firmly rooted in the nation. England, suffering such a disaster, would have quickly created a new navy, just as the Prussians after Jena bent every effort to reorganize their military system. Instead of maintaining an army ready to defend the nation they began arming the whole nation to defend itself. France in 1867, he concluded, had nothing with which to oppose this formidable principle.<sup>37</sup> She had an army created by lottery, she had troops composed of the outcasts of society, in short, she had a system which, instead of forming military habits in society, put the soldier, as in China, on the lowest rung of the social ladder.

The French military mind became so hardened in these outworn concepts that the idea of reliance on the professional soldier, coupled with the principle of complete, permanent exemptions, could not be touched. In addition there was the opposition of the French middle class, who were reluctant to give up the privilege of "good numbers." The disastrous foreign policy of Napoleon had involved the nation in costly wars which resulted in the complete diplomatic isolation of France. In order to check the personal power of Napoleon the public wanted political liberties. The emperor, anxious to gain the support of the middle class for his military reform, granted political concessions, which the Liberals in parliament promptly used to defeat the project. Their minds were not trained in military thinking and they could not appreciate the momentous events of the Seven Weeks' War. They saw nothing portentous in the rise of Prussia and had no desire to try conclusions with her. The French middle class had grown opulent, comfort-loving, and pacifistic. In their wishful thinking they foresaw a new era of internationalism when the liberal leaders, rising above the narrow concepts of nationalism, would co-operate across the frontiers, making armies and soldiers useless

<sup>37</sup> Trochu, *La société, l'état, l'armée, 1874-1890* (Tours, 1896), pp. 185-86.

burdens on society. Such was the trend of popular thought borne out by the actions of the Liberals. Parliamentarism cannot function without the support of public interest in national affairs, without the pressure of opinion. With its political concessions the Second Empire merely bought a new lease on life. Lethargy in public affairs now combined with the suspicion and hostility which Liberalism since the days of George III and Louis XVI had directed against the "king's men." Parliament, instead of co-operating with the government, refused to strengthen France lest it strengthen the empire of Napoleon.

The wars in the Crimea, in Italy, and in Mexico were Napoleon's personal affairs. They made the nation distrustful of his policy even when war had ceased to be the sole concern of the government and even when international events threatened to involve the nation in a life-and-death struggle. Napoleon, after the defeat of his military program, tried to win the middle class with more political concessions. His cousin, Prince Napoleon, who reflected the ever-changing policies of the government in his memorandums, pointed out early in 1870 that the liberalization of the empire was necessary to gain the co-operation of the middle class. Discussing the project of the plebiscite, he wrote that the emperor controlled the army and held the allegiance of the peasants, but the artisans and laborers of the cities were revolutionaries and to counterbalance them it was indispensable to rally the bourgeoisie by liberalizing the constitution.<sup>38</sup>

The plebiscite held in May, 1870, endorsed the new policy of the government with an overwhelming majority. *L'empire libérale* could now go ahead in its efforts to solve the German problem and with it the question of the European equilibrium. With its new power resting on popular forces, it could make further concessions, which now appeared as the conciliatory gestures of the strong. On June 30, 1870, the government made a proposal to the *Corps législatif* to reduce the annual contingent by 10,000 men. An account of the lively discussions provoked by the bill presents a good picture of the attitude of the nation on the eve of the war with Prussia.<sup>39</sup>

The comte de Latour opposed the measure because the French army was still suffering from the same weakness as before, namely, lack of reserves, whereas Prussia's lead in numbers was increasing year by year. Including the South German states, the power across the Rhine had an annual contingent of 134,000 men. Thus, with its obligatory twelve years' service in time of war, Prussia could produce a total force of 1,600,000 fighters. The French con-

<sup>38</sup> D'Hauterive, p. 286.

<sup>39</sup> *Journal officiel de l'empire française*, July 1, 1870.

tingent, reduced to 90,000 with only nine years of service, would be only 800,000 men, exactly half of the German force. As for the excuse that quality was superior to quantity, the comte de Latour pointed out that the Prussian system in 1866 put an army of 500,000 men into the field so excellently trained and led that there was every reason to consider them professionals. Their number, he said, would increase in the future without any impairment of their high quality. Therefore, he advocated the introduction of this system in France, with two years of service.

Marshal Le Boeuf, the minister of war, ridiculed the idea of training good soldiers in such a short time. In an army, he said, quality counted as much as quantity; therefore he was not worried that the contingent was to be reduced. In France particularly, the presence of seasoned soldiers with the colors had always exerted great influence upon the spirit of the troops. History proved that soldiers with short service failed to acquire this military spirit, which was so important for discipline and such a distinctive quality of the French army. Replying to the criticism that an army of professional soldiers served aggressive designs whereas the militia would be defensive, Marshal Le Boeuf said, "France has a mission to fulfill in Europe and she cannot abdicate her role. Yes, an army is not good unless it can rapidly take the offensive or else one condemns oneself to impotence." These were ominous words.

Adolphe Thiers also rejected the idea of the armed nation. He asked the chamber whether they remembered the desperation of the women in Prussia when the mobilization of 1866 carried away all the men; families were left destitute, and factories and offices had to close down for lack of men. There was nothing more painful, he added, than a military organization which in this way called out a whole nation. There were no bloodier wars than those waged with troops insufficiently trained.

Ask the experts, ask the most competent statesmen why the American Civil War cost more men and blood than any other war of our times and they will tell you that it is because soldiers not seasoned through long training hesitate before positions instead of storming them. They stay under fire and lose ten times more men than troops who are resolute and well led.<sup>40</sup>

He believed that if "regulars" had waged the American Civil War it would have lasted only one year and would have cost only one tenth of the casualties.

Emile Ollivier, originally an advocate of the nation-in-arms but since his appointment as prime minister a supporter of the law of 1868, declared that the plebiscite was the French equivalent of the battle of Sadowa. Everywhere French prestige increased after this great reform and the country could

<sup>40</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 1143.

afford the reduction of the contingent because that would not diminish its newly won strength. The transformation of the empire into a liberal constitutional monarchy, he concluded proudly, was a great victory which gave French policy the same force the battle of Sadowa had given Prussian policy. It was a strange statement and a maladroit boast, and it aroused a storm on the opposition benches; but perhaps it accurately reflected the official interpretation of the plebiscite as indicated by Prince Napoleon's memorandum. At any rate the plebiscite signified the triumph in France of Liberalism, which in Prussia had lost out in its struggle with militarism. There was no doubt that, in a moral sense, a liberal France was superior to a military Prussia. But moral values were not going to decide the issue.

# The Highway Movement, 1916-1935

FREDERIC L. PAXSON\*

OF frontiers there is no end. It is still true, nearly two centuries after the farm frontiers of the Atlantic tidewater began to cut into the Piedmont, that now and then some "new custom" sweeps across the continent, leaving behind its cutting edge a new environment and marking a new stage in American development. With one of these frontiers, latest but certainly not the last, this inquiry is concerned. It is one which, between two great wars, has come alive, passed through its initial phases, and settled down as other frontiers have settled down into operating institutions. It is the frontier of gas and concrete and of a highway system binding an area of continental dimensions into a unit for the first time in history.

There have been three major spreads of communication on an ocean-to-ocean basis in the United States, all having the common tendency to lessen the sharpness of sectional differences, to build up the national interest, and to shade the autonomy of the states. Each, in its setting of time and technology, has had its peculiar characteristics and has made its special contribution to American development. The latest of the three built for the United States a quarter of a million miles of modern highways, selected for their binding qualities from the more than three million miles of road which the survey shows upon the map. More than either of its predecessors, this third spread has upset the national equilibrium. The nation as a whole has been part and parcel of it and its necessary consequence has been to open the sections and break down state lines. Its immediate predecessor, the frontier of the railroads, completed its pioneer work about 1888. And half a century earlier the frontier of the dirt road, the covered wagon, the trails, and the long overland journey tested the footways of the buffalo and the Indian and enriched the American vocabulary with the place names of the Pacific.

There were few uncertainties about the basic topography of the continent when John Charles Fremont made his map of the Far West in 1842-1844, and became "Pathfinder" for all time. But it was within his decade of exploration and advertisement that the trails to the Pacific were tied to the trails from the Atlantic and that the long-distance overland journey became an ordinary American phenomenon.

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The railroad net, second of the frontiers of communication, reached the Pacific within two generations. It brought reality, where the roads and trails had merely suggested promise. It checked the zeal for turnpikes, stopped the movement for canals, and gradually by inherent superiority lessened the use of the inland waterways. In 1869 the first trains arrived at San Francisco Bay and in another twenty years the railroad frontier had completed its march across the map.<sup>1</sup>

Starting from scratch in 1830, the national provision of railroads caught up with geographical dimension and human requirement. By 1840 there were 162 miles of main line per million people in the United States, but most of the national area was unreached. By 1860 the ratio was 921 miles per million, with the Mississippi reached by trunk lines and with a concentration in the northern states which proved to be fundamental in the preservation of the union. By 1890, in spite of the fivefold increase in population since 1830, the ratio per million had grown to 2,600 miles; every significant area had received service, and what might be called saturation had been attained. The mileage was equal to the requirement. In the half century after the completion of the continental railroads the ratio hardly held its own, while after 1910 it materially declined as existing main lines with improved equipment met the national need. By 1940 the ratio was down to 1,776 miles per million. The railroad had contributed to the making of a new nation in the preceding century.

But the necessities of railroad operation left the regional interests of the United States strung along the rights of way, like so many beads on so many strings. At the level of the grass-roots the people of the regions were nearly as far apart and as local in their activities as they had been when the railroad checked the covered wagon in its process of binding the regions with the roads.

In that earlier period, when the wagons of the homeseekers pushed the heads of the trails westward, the dirt road followed the trail; and after the dirt road there came clamor for the turnpike, the bridge, and the canal; and with it all there came a widening spread of detailed knowledge of the terrain. County was linked to county, and town to town, by roads which were inadequate for much more than local traffic but which conserved a certain sense of neighborhood. Part of this sense was weakened when the railroads took over the job of communication and built up a sort of traffic which could never have existed if served by horse-drawn commerce. In place of self-sufficient

<sup>1</sup>Frederic L. Paxson, "The Pacific Railroads and the Disappearance of the Frontier in America," in American Historical Association, *Annual Report for 1907* (Washington, 1908), I, 105.



regionalism, lightly bound by roads, the United States became a congeries of localities, with the railroad station at the very center of every web of life. The road to town, rather than the road to the next town, became the concern of the farmer who had to buy and sell and still get home in time to milk the cows, and of the townsmen who served the community and its radiating outskirts.

The railroad had become an operating mechanism before 1900. It is interesting to conjecture what the United States would have become in the twentieth century if served only by the equipment of the nineteenth, or what the nineteenth would have been with only the sort of equipment which was available when Andrew Jackson was elected President. But a new era, massing behind a new frontier, was taking shape even before the old century expired. In January, 1900, in the old Madison Square Garden, there was held the first American automobile show. It was two years more before *Country Life in America* regarded the automobile as significant enough to deserve a major article, and even then the title of the article, "The Automobile in the Country," suggested that only the adventurous thought of the automobile except in terms of city streets. By 1903, the magazine *Outing* was intrigued by the possibility of a "re-discovery" of America by automobile.

Between 1900 and the first World War the forces which were to generate a new frontier were assembling. The preliminaries of the highway movement gave way to action and advance when in the Federal Highway Aid Act of July 11, 1916, the government of the United States put a reluctant shoulder behind the movement. Driven by the movement, rather than leading it, the government of necessity took charge, with the result that when the attack at Pearl Harbor drew the United States again into war the highways were a completed operating mechanism, needing at the last minute little more than a detail act for access and strategic roads. The President approved such an act on November 19, 1941.

The parentage of the highway movement is various. Differing from the railroad movement, the rolling stock was ready before the roadbed had been designed. The search for origins leads into the steel mills and the cement plants. It leads as well to the laboratories and workshops where the refineries shifted from kerosene to gasoline, where the internal combustion engine made the "horseless carriage" possible; and to the jungle for the rubber. The movement was heavily influenced by the human craving for speed which created a market, waiting to absorb the motor car as rapidly as the inventors could design and make it. It owed something to the early social clubs of the pioneers, such as the American Automobile Club of New York, or the Auto-

mobile Club of Southern California, in whose rooms members gathered to exchange their experiences, as they had adventured a few miles out of town. It owed more to the American Automobile Association (1902) in which local clubs were affiliated. By 1914 the American Association of State Highway Officials had become a spearhead in promotion.<sup>2</sup> Its goal was to get the traffic of the United States "out of the mud!"

From inception to success, the highway movement reveals the capacity of democratic institutions to procure action when the people are in agreement. It was the government, budget-bound, which required forcing, yielding only when it must. The watchdogs of the treasury were apprehensive of the outlay; but states have generally been ready for enterprise whose costs could be shared with Washington, while counties have always welcomed improvements paid for outside their little budgets. In principle there was little resistance to the dream of highways, or to the attainment of the dream.

To the eagerness of the public there was added the interest of those for whom the program would bring immediate profit. The automobile makers and their salesmen were a pressure group, working upon the government at the top and upon customers at the bottom. The tire manufacturers joined in with zeal and cash. The road machinery men were ready to design new tools as needed, not yet thinking of the bulldozer as a machine of war. The owners of quarries and sand and gravel pits saw new markets ahead. The oil industry foresaw a use for heavy oils as road binders, while cement makers dreamed of concrete roads.<sup>3</sup> There was already an American Road Builders Association, which had held its first national convention in 1903, when "road-building was in its infancy," and which maintained a persuasive lobby. The ingredients for the highway movement were at hand at the turn of the century, waiting to be integrated. Perhaps the most significant step in this integration was taken after Carl G. Fisher hatched the idea of a hard-surfaced, all-weather highway from ocean to ocean, to be talked about as though it were to be built. The scheme was taken up by Indiana automobile makers, an association was incorporated in Michigan, a group of scouting cars worked its way

<sup>2</sup> Conceived at a meeting of an American road congress in Atlanta, this association was organized in Washington. The American Automobile Association and the American Highway Association had shares in it, while the officials of the Office of Public Roads encouraged it. *Highways Green Book*, 1920, p. 5; *Engineering News-Record*, Dec. 13, 1917, p. 1086; *Good Roads*, Dec. 7, 1918, p. 28; *Public Roads*, III (1921), 3; Thomas H. MacDonald, in *Roads and Streets*, December, 1939, p. 50.

<sup>3</sup> As yet they only dreamed. The contractors who co-operated in the American Concrete Institute assumed this name in 1913, without altering the purpose of their organization, which, as the National Association of Concrete Users, held a first convention in Indianapolis in 1905. Their annual *Proceedings* reveal the steps by which, beginning with sidewalks, building bricks, and stucco, their contracts came to deal with foundations, canals, reinforced concrete, and finally concrete roads.

to San Francisco over the central overland route, and the magic name of Lincoln was attached to the proposal. On October 31, 1913, the organized propaganda of the Lincoln Highway Association assumed an almost national dimension.<sup>4</sup>

In the twenty years before 1913 the highway movement had shown premonitory signs of life. Almost at the moment when the pneumatic tire became standard equipment for the safety bicycle, the League of American Wheelmen took a prominent place in the world of sport and gave publicity to the condition of the roads. In 1892 *Good Roads*, sponsored by the League of American Wheelmen, began a modest appearance, describing itself as the "first publication in the world devoted strictly to road improvement." It persistently carried the tune with argument, illustration, news, and song. After forty years, it became *Roads and Streets* and continued its argument in the period of fulfillment. A year after its first appearance Congress was persuaded to vote a token \$10,000 to the Secretary of Agriculture to promote investigation in the field of highways; and the secretary entrusted the fund to an informal Office of Road Inquiry.

But in 1892 there was no existing mechanism for the expenditure of big money, for rural roads were still regarded as a charge on the community which they served and a particular charge upon the abutting property owners who often worked out the road tax with pick and shovel in their own hands. Counties controlled the roads, states regarded them as local business, and the federal government had not even a foreboding of the job at hand. Massachusetts, to be sure, well in the front in legislation, had set up a highway commission in 1892; but its officials were thinking in terms of stone roads and were only toying with the idea of state aid to localities. The road builders, hardly differentiated from general contractors, had only just begun to think of roads as other than slightly graded dirt, as impassable in winter and spring as nature made them. In the cities, asphalt and brick were slowly displacing granite blocks, cobble stones, planks, and worse, although eventually the Junior Chamber of Commerce of Bellefontaine, Ohio, discovered four blocks of cement slabs which had been poured around the court house square in 1891. The discovery enabled a fiftieth anniversary celebration and a monument to the earliest concrete pavement in the United States.<sup>5</sup>

The public was as yet giving little attention to the mobilizing of pressure

<sup>4</sup> Lincoln Highway Association, *The Lincoln Highway: The Story of a Crusade That Made Transportation History* (New York, 1935).

<sup>5</sup> *Engineering News-Record*, June 26, 1941, p. 976; Aug. 28, p. 297. The *Engineering News*, which began as the *Engineer and Surveyor* in April, 1874, was merged in April, 1917, with the *Engineering Record*, which had started in December, 1877, as *The Plumber and Sanitary Engineer*.

behind the roads. Few but those who were specially interested took note of a Federal Aid Good Roads Convention, assembled by the American Automobile Association in Washington in June, 1912. Few would have noted a second annual convention of an American Road Congress, held in Atlantic City in September, 1912, if Governor Woodrow Wilson had not addressed it.<sup>6</sup> The *Engineering News*, still dubious, reported a proposal for national trunk highways and asserted editorially that "it is impossible for haulage over any road surface to compete with the low cost of hauling on a railway."<sup>7</sup> The Office of Road Inquiry had meanwhile developed into an Office of Public Roads, with a new concern for the condition of the roads now that rural mail carriers had parcel post as well as letters to deliver over the post routes.

There was no hope of immediate realization when the Lincoln Highway Association advertised its dream in 1913. Its officers complained that "there were no logs or maps of through roads" and confessed that in "picking a connected trail from the Missouri River to the Pacific [they] used the maps and mileages of railroad time-tables in endeavoring to link up the various sections of disconnected county and township improvement."<sup>8</sup> But they managed to trace a route. They explained the scheme to towns along the line, urged the communities reached by the theoretical highway to join in simultaneous noise about it, and organized boomers meetings in the local movie houses for the last day in August, 1913. Here and there, they even persuaded a parson to preach about it on the following Sunday. This was the first year of "fairly reliable data" on motor vehicles in the United States. Registration showed 1,258,062 automobiles and trucks.<sup>9</sup>

The named highway, as a promotional tool if not as a reality, caught the imagination of communities along the Lincoln Highway. From New York to San Francisco the route, shifting a little as it developed, touched Philadelphia, Chambersburg, Mansfield, South Bend, Chicago Heights, Clinton, Cedar Rapids, Council Bluffs, Kearney, Laramie, Salt Lake City, Reno, Placerville, and Oakland. Communities which were by-passed, or which lay in other regions, were inspired to promote highways of their own. In quick time the American map was crisscrossed in defiance of topography and in response to local interest or local vanity. A Dixie Highway, from the strait at

<sup>6</sup> Gatherings like these left their record in volumes such as *Papers, Addresses and Resolutions before the American Road Congress* (Vol. I appeared after the first convention at Richmond, Va., Nov. 20, 1911); and *Proceedings of the Federal Aid Good Roads Convention* (following the Washington Convention, June 16, 1912).

<sup>7</sup> May 6, 1912, p. 937.

<sup>8</sup> A. F. Bement, in *Good Roads*, Nov. 11, 1923, p. 154.

<sup>9</sup> *Public Roads*, April, 1924, p. 14. Under this title, the Office of Public Roads and Rural Engineering began to publish its technical journal in May, 1918.

Mackinaw to Miami, made its appearance, with a headquarters, an association, scout cars, and agents. A Meridian Highway, from the Rio Grande crossing at Nuevo Laredo to Winnipeg, was matched by a Jefferson Highway from New Orleans to the same Canadian terminus.<sup>10</sup> Senator John H. Bankhead of Alabama, early in offering highway legislation to Congress, had his name attached to a route from Memphis to El Paso (or more ambitiously from Washington to San Diego). When the troops came back from France, there was talk of a Pershing and reality in a Victory Highway, while within a few days of the funeral of Theodore Roosevelt road promoters were at work upon his name.

Many of the proposals had money behind them, for chambers of commerce, automobile associations, and industrial organizations were ready to contribute. They brought into publicity the impassability of American roads and the desirability of improvement. But the movement needed to be implemented with law before the builders could be set to work. The whole concept of rural roads must be revised, with a new distribution of control and financial responsibility among township, county, and state; and without federal co-operation at the top the costs of anything resembling a system were staggering.

The habit of turning to Washington for help was so automatic that the promoters turned to Washington, whence a financial trickle was procured, merely for post roads, in 1913. Sporadic bills were introduced, as much to satisfy constituents as to induce action. They approached the problem from every angle, some proposing a new federal department or highway commission, others content with grants to the states, or with federal co-operation with the states on a share-the-cost basis. The American Association of State Highway Officials was handicapped at the start by the reluctance of states to create such officials or to admit state responsibility for what happened in the townships.

The growing pressure upon Washington produced, in 1912, a joint committee to consider the problem. There was reason for caution in the disagreement among the promoters as to what made a road, or what might make it in a few years. But the House of Representatives created a new Committee on Roads in 1913, and a Missouri congressman, D. W. Shackelford, resigned from the Committee on Ways and Means to become its chairman.<sup>11</sup> There were fifty-odd bills in the files of various committees when he assumed the post. He fought the battle in the House, with Bankhead of Alabama co-operating in the Senate. Out of the confusion of the summer of 1916, which

<sup>10</sup> "The Jefferson Highway was conceived in the rooms of the Association of Commerce, in New Orleans three years ago." *New Orleans Picayune*, Sept. 14, 1919.

<sup>11</sup> *Congressional Record*, June 2, 1913, p. 1861; June 26, p. 2190.

was crowded with schemes for military preparedness, there came a Federal Aid Act<sup>12</sup> bearing the names of Bankhead and Shackleford. It was provided that within the next five years seventy-five millions should be spent in those states which possessed responsible highway departments. The Secretary of Agriculture was given charge of the aid and the duty of approving allotments of half the cost of projects for the improvement of rural roads which carried or were capable of carrying post routes, improvements which the state must agree to maintain after construction. In order to overcome the fact that the states which suffered most from lack of roads were often those least able to finance even half the cost, the aid was to be distributed one third on the basis of population, one third on the basis of area, one third on the mileage of rural post routes within the state.

This Federal Aid Act was the opening wedge. Its effective operation was retarded by war, by the restrictions of the Capital Issues Committee, by a priority order prohibiting the use of freight cars for moving road material, by the lack of highway surveys upon which to justify the projects offered for federal support, and by the necessity upon most of the states to create and staff their highway departments before they could get to work. But in this period of delay the frontier of the highways took shape, with all forces out of doors increasing their pressure and with the war itself turning the motor vehicle into a weapon which must have a road on which to do its work. Henry Ford had run his millionth Model-T off the assembly line in 1915, a car which had the invaluable capacity to run where there was almost no road. But it was a different story with heavy motor trucks. When the troops were back and the camps were emptied, the new frontier began really to cut its way into the landscape.

The United States Army took a hand in the promotion of the work. A Highways Transport Committee was set up by the Council of National Defense in November, 1917, to examine the possibility of using roads to break a traffic jam. In the following June a United States Highways Council, representing all the agencies concerned, began to meet. The Army Motor Transport Corps, two months later, was given administrative control over the army fleets. In an effort to get motor trucks to France during the railroad blockade of December, 1917, the nearly impossible was attempted when it was decided to drive them from Detroit to Baltimore in winter, over unimproved mountain roads. It was recognized as a "daring adventure" to bring "these heavy machines over the Alleghenies."<sup>13</sup> Of the thirty which started

<sup>12</sup> *U. S. Statutes at Large*, 64 Congress, 1 session, July 11, 1916, p. 355.

<sup>13</sup> *Engineering News-Record*, Jan. 3, 1918, p. 3.



in the first fleet on December 17, 1917, all but one reached Baltimore; and by a process of shovel, tug, push, and good luck, the succeeding convoys continued to make the Atlantic port. In the summer of 1919 the Army Motor Transport Corps staged a greater adventure, undertaking a test of its own powers as well as a rediscovery of the American highway situation, by moving a substantial motor train from coast to coast.

From Washington to San Francisco, 3,242 miles, the route selected, close to the line of the Lincoln Highway, was urged upon the army by the association, which gave heavy patronage to the experiment as well as reconnaissance cars in the region where the West began and the highways stopped. Under command of Lt. Col. C. W. McClure the army supply train started from the front of the White House, July 7, 1919. Its trucks, cars, ambulances, and repair cars, some seventy-five strong, carried more than two hundred officers and enlisted men in a self-contained caravan. It had been hoped to have President Wilson on hand to bless the jaunt; but in his absence, still at sea on his way back from the peace conference, Secretary of War Newton D. Baker was forced to start the train. There was a ceremony of dedication of an initial marker—a plaster cast of a permanent marker which the Lincoln Highway Association proposed to plant along the route. The secretary called the World War a “war of motor transports,” and spoke of the American need for military highways. The *New York Times* described “the first complete military convoy to attempt a transcontinental journey,” in a few lines on page 25.<sup>14</sup>

The truck convoy was on the road for sixty-two days, averaging nearer fifty miles a day than the seventy-five which had been hoped for. West of the Missouri, roads turned to dirt, or sand, or mud. Bridges, where they were found, proved to be too light to carry trucks, and scores had to be strengthened in advance or rebuilt after passage. Detours impeded the advance, for bits of construction all along the line turned traffic into by-passes worse than the original roads. Yet the procession completed its mission among the hills above the Presidio in San Francisco on September 6. There, in Lincoln Park, the highway association planted a western terminal marker, replica of that which stood in Washington. In 1920 a second train traversed the roads from Washington to Los Angeles, crossing the Mississippi over its lowest bridge, at Memphis, on the line of the Bankhead Highway.

The promotional forces had converged upon Congress when that body met in December, 1918, to plan for the postwar period. The Secretary of

<sup>14</sup> *New York Times*, July 8, 1919; *Oakland Tribune*, July 17, 1919.



Agriculture, David F. Houston, had just held a Washington conference on good roads with the agricultural editors; and a Joint Highway Congress was at work in Chicago, pooling the ideas of officials, industries, and the automobile associations. The United States Chamber of Commerce was ready to endorse a federal highway commission, while the American Bankers Association gave approval to a continuance of highway aid after the five-year period of the 1916 experiment should expire in 1921. Bills were thrown into the hopper in December, 1918; one of them by Senator Charles E. Townsend of Michigan, whose name was to be continuously attached to the program until the passage, November 9, 1921, of a Federal Highway Act.<sup>15</sup>

Senator Townsend preferred a commission with power to build as well as to regulate and assist, but he chiefly wished a bill which could be passed, and turned his office into a clearing house for ideas which he worked into successive editions of his measure. The states, jealous of absentee control, preferred a grant of funds to be expended by themselves. And every federal insistence upon a system or a standard was certain to be attacked somewhere as the work of bureaucracy. Secretary Houston insisted that the existing mechanism of co-operative construction under the eye of his Office of Public Roads was not only adequate but best. Secretary Henry C. Wallace, who succeeded him in the cabinet of President Harding, held the same opinion.

There was more to the problem than the mere extension of federal aid. The law of 1916, limiting the grants to rural roads suitable for the carriage of the mails, discriminated against other routes of greater significance to traffic. The star routes began only where the railroad routes came to an end, but the railroads had generally paralleled the most obvious natural highway routes. Under the old law the improvements could be, and were, often whimsical and local, serving little stretches from farm to market and not advancing the day of completion of a national system. The authority of the Secretary of Agriculture to insist upon routes rather than patches and to concern himself with specifications as well as with state compliance was left in doubt. The new bill required a concentration of federal aid upon "such projects as will expedite the completion of an adequate and connected system of highways, interstate in character." It called upon the states to prepare lists of not above seven per cent of their roads whose reconstruction would bring such a system into existence. Seven per cent meant about 200,000 miles, enough to reach all capitals and important cities by main through routes and to bring most of the population within reasonable reach of modern communication.

<sup>15</sup> *U. S. Statutes at Large*, 67 Cong., 1 sess., p. 212.

One of the interests in the contemplated network was military. General Pershing, then chief of staff, was soon concerning himself with the highway map as it affected strategic access.

The states had already by 1921 complied with the requirement that they establish highway departments. These were now in operation. The states had as well made the financial arrangements necessary before they could receive federal aid. Facing the demand for funds for intrastate and tributary roads as well as for the federal aid roads, they had begun to borrow. Pennsylvania authorized fifty millions for highways at the general election of 1918, Illinois sixty millions at the same time, California forty millions in 1919.

Under the direction of Thomas H. MacDonald, who was long to remain its chief, the Bureau of Public Roads had by 1923 completed a tentative map of arterial highways, reaching every city of 50,000 and planned for construction in a ten-year period. Over many of the miles involved there was long argument and inevitable rivalry among routes and regions. Glad to take the cash, the states were reluctant to take the counsel. They fulminated against bureaucracy and begged for larger appropriations. Certain of the states advanced reasonable claims for grants above the allotments resulting from the three-way breakdown of the aid appropriations. It seemed reasonable that the government should take care of the highways through the forest reserves,<sup>16</sup> which it had created and which it protected from state interference. In states in which there remained large areas of the public domain, free from state taxation, the government had a clear liability because of its holdings. It was not fair to draw upon the Indian trust funds to pay for roads through the reservations which the government had established. All these points were raised as the new system gained momentum, and on each of them redress was in due time provided.<sup>17</sup>

As the funds poured out, year after year, with preferential treatment of states having large area, small population, and low taxable values, a sectional grievance arose,<sup>18</sup> a grievance large enough to irritate but too small to stop the

<sup>16</sup> Such care began to be taken under the Townsend Act (1921). *Forest Highway System* (1940), a report to the House Committee on Roads from the Public Roads Administration, FWA, T. H. MacDonald, chief.

<sup>17</sup> Senator Tasker L. Oddie of Nevada long made it his business to fight the case for those states in which the federal lands and forests kept the largest relative acreage off the tax rolls. Coolidge vetoed a bill accepting special federal responsibility on this account, May 18, 1928, pleading that highways through the public reservations would not increase the value of the latter and that the states were collecting so heavily from the gasoline tax that they could afford to build them. *Congressional Record*, May 24, 1928, p. 9668. Hoover finally approved an Oddie-Colton bill which accepted the responsibility. *Ibid.*, June 16, 1930, p. 10920; *U. S. Statutes at Large*, 71 Cong., 2 sess., June 24, 1930, p. 805.

<sup>18</sup> John D. Bright, "Sectionalism and Federal Grants in Aid" (manuscript doctoral thesis, University of Wisconsin, 1930).

system of aid. The federal income tax began to yield revenue just as the highway movement began. Large incomes, distributed from eastern offices of national corporations or enjoyed by the eastern holders of securities, could be charted so as to suggest that they were earned where they were enjoyed, and an objection to "pampering" the West at the cost of the East made its appearance before George Moses described the western members of his party as the "sons of the wild jackass." As the second five-year period of the experiment in aid drew to a close, there was objection to its continuance. The Coolidge passion for economy made him lukewarm to the issue, but in 1926 he signed the authorization for extension until June 30, 1929. By 1930 President Hoover was signing appropriations for additional grants, to make jobs as well as highways; and there were four hundred millions devoted to these purposes by the National Industrial Recovery Act which President Roosevelt approved June 16, 1933.

The named highway schemes, two dozen of which MacDonald listed in his report for 1923, struggled to maintain their integrity, and pressed for recognition under letterheads ranging from the names of local heroes to "Pike's Peak Ocean to Ocean," "National Old Trails," "Old Spanish Trail," and whatever else their promoters fancied might attract attention and interest.<sup>19</sup> The routes, selected as much for promotional purposes as for use, were rarely what sound highway engineers, drafting a national system, could accept. Few of them could be adopted intact; few of the through routes, approved by the Secretary of Agriculture on MacDonald's recommendation, failed to include mileage taken from several different named projects. When it came to selecting the state roads which, meeting at state lines, should be used for the national system, the associations fought for place and the states themselves could not ignore the interests of their towns or sections. There was disagreement, perhaps no more than is incidental to any scheme of planned economy but enough to be important. At this point the American Association of State Highway Officials urged the Secretary of Agriculture, William H. Jardine, to resolve the difficulties. A Joint Board of Interstate Highways was thereupon created, while the states were called upon to nominate formally from their seven per cent of eligible routes those possessing the best interstate quality. The final recommendation, assembled in the localities and cleared through the association, received the approval of the secretary in the autumn of 1925. The resulting map showed some 70,000 miles carefully selected from the 200,000 miles of the whole aid system.

<sup>19</sup> Twenty-one highways having national dimension and thirty-six of some interstate importance are listed in *Highways Green Book*, 1920, p. 452, an annual of the American Automobile Association.

The named highways, and their boomers, were thrown into the discard as unsuited for an official system. Here and there the names lingered locally, and the road markers stood until they weathered away or became meaningless with the relocation of roadways. The new numbered system, as impersonal and mechanical as the Land Office designation of townships, was clear and simple. Standard markers soon made the identification of routes nearly foolproof.

The frontier of pioneer roads was busy for two generations as it cut its way from the Proclamation Line to the Pacific; that of the railroads covered the continent in fewer years. But the new frontier of the national highways, driven by a nonpartisan demand which few could resist on principle, was telescoped into the quarter century which followed the act of 1916. Not many, even among those who demanded the roads or those who built them, knew what was happening to the physiology of the United States. Already by 1925, when the system was frozen to a pattern, enough had been accomplished to modify life and traffic. In every region contractors had road gangs in the field and were delivering completed units into the hands of public authority. One might easily put together, merely from the reports of ceremonies of completion, a fair picture of the satisfaction which each new link brought to its neighborhood. The civic parades over the new pavement, the cutting of symbolic ribbon with official shears, a little crowding by politicians to get near the center of the picture, oratory reminiscent of that which poured over the completed Erie Canal and the junction of the Union and Central Pacific railroads, and the pretty girls for the newsreels, developed another American ritual.

A new bonanza business flowered upon the mileage of new hard roads. Automobile registration rose from 1,258,062 in 1913 to 7,565,446 in 1919, and to 19,937,274 in 1925. Inquiries were soon in the making as to some point of saturation at which the requirements of the Americans should have been satisfied, reducing thereafter new manufacture to mere replacement. But saturation eluded discovery. The motor vehicle registration of 1931 was 25,814,103; in 1940 it was 32,452,861. The pace had been cut down before Pearl Harbor, but how far the cause was saturation or depression was beyond determination.

New life on the roads flowered, too. Forgotten inns came back to prosperity, and new business crowded little hotels in country towns. A rash of motor camps broke out along the roadside, just beyond city limits, in the West; and in the East ancient mansions hung out their signs for tourists. Before the end of the twenties, mass migrations, motor borne, rushed to new

jobs or fled calamity whether it was drought or flood. In the next decade, whether on relief or not, the worker kept his car.

In the field of finance, the highways brought novelty, as scope and scale unfolded. Whatever the government might do in the way of aid, the states were forced to match the contributions; and they were driven as well to meet their internal demands for local roads, at even greater cost. The county tax rolls could not carry the load. Pressed from every side in a decade of generous spending for public works and institutions, the state treasuries scraped the bottom as they searched for funds. Electorates, which joined happily in the demand upon Congress for aid, were irked by heavy taxes. Those who had as yet no cars resented taxes paid for the benefit of those who owned them. Part of the solution was revealed early in the twenties when the states turned to the users to pay the costs. They discovered the accurate measure of usage of highways which was afforded by the records of the gasoline pumps at the filling stations and launched the tax on gasoline.

The "father" of the gasoline tax appears to have dwelt in Oregon, where the idea was publicized in 1919.<sup>20</sup> Once suggested, the gasoline tax swept the country, collected as the roads were used and consecrated to the building of more and better roads. Where such class legislation required constitutional amendment, the electors approved upon submission, while legislators quibbled only over the amount of the levy, not the principle. So far as the principle was concerned, there were litigants who maintained that due process was violated by a requirement of a tax precedent to the use of a public highway; but the United States Supreme Court gave the tax full clearance in 1924.<sup>21</sup>

The gasoline tax was dubious in fiscal theory, being uneven in its incidence and unsound in its restriction upon the discretion of the legislator. It was, however, too profitable to be abandoned, and much too profitable to be certain that its integrity could be preserved. It made the highways possible for the states; but it did more than suggest the easy revenue to be derived from the sales tax. It invited raids when in the years of depression direct taxes became delinquent and income taxes shrank with the incomes. The automobile associations made it their business to guard the tax as belonging to the roads and as representing a contract between the state and its motoring citizen, but needy legislatures made appropriations which pilfered from its funds. A consequence of diversions of gasoline tax to other ends than roads was a

<sup>20</sup> The title is ascribed to C. C. Chapman, editor of the *Oregon Voter*, in *California Highways*, XIII (January, 1935), p. 37.

<sup>21</sup> *Pierce Oil Corporation vs. Luther Hopkins, et al.*, *Public Roads*, April, 1924, p. 14. Henry R. Trumbower, economist in the Bureau of Public Roads, discusses matters of constitutionality in *Public Roads*, November, 1924, p. 7; and the fiscal values of the gasoline tax in *Highway Research Board, Proceedings*, 1926, p. 318.

reduction in the appropriation of the diverting states for the road building which was part of the consideration offered the United States in return for highway aid. Under pressure of states which had not diverted, Congress came to the rescue of the tax, declaring such diversion to be "unfair and unjust." It was provided in the Hayden-Cartwright law of 1934 that the states which diverted the tax to other than road use should be penalized by a reduction in their share of federal aid.<sup>22</sup> In several of the states the constitutions were amended again, this time to prohibit the diversion of the tax. Depression or not, the public demanded roads, and the cars continued to roll over them. The United States was motorized.

The sharp impact of the highway frontier upon the American way of life can be dated with sufficient precision at its beginning. It is less easy to fix a date at which, passing out from the frontier phase, the United States may be said to have acquired a going plant, sufficient for major needs and calling for only such refinement and development as the future might demand. But before that terminal date arrived, the future had itself arrived, in pressure for roads from farm to market, as well as state trunk lines and the federal highway net. The definition of the highway had changed as well, under experience and heavy pounding. And the necessities of a motorized nation had produced monuments in the way of public works as spectacular as the highway net.

From about 169,000 miles in 1925, the federal aid system grew to 226,000 miles. Its trunk routes passed near to the homes of most Americans, yet touched only a small fraction of the three million miles of roads. The backwardness of these was emphasized as the farmer's car pushed through the mud and then speeded up on the hard surface of the arterials. Among the farmers' demands, and they were abundant in the twenties, was one for low cost roads, and another for roads from farm to market. The American Farm Bureau Federation amplified them. The road builders, with their necessary blending of public spirit and search for contracts, reinforced; the American Road Builders Association organized a section for county highway officials in 1926. And in June, 1927, a County Highway Officials Association held its first annual convention. The vision, no more than glimpsed in 1916, had become an attainable reality; but the sky was now the limit, so far as costs were concerned.

In the early years of promotion by the Lincoln Highway Association there had been much discussion of the highway specifications, with little more to draw on than the ancient experience with animal transport on dirt roads, and

<sup>22</sup> U. S. *Statutes at Large*, 73 Cong., 1 sess., June 18, 1934, p. 993.



with no anticipation of the ease with which funds would eventually be found. Stone and macadam, with proper drainage, set limits to imagination, for concrete was still highly experimental as well as prohibitive in cost. Roads were still expected to run with the terrain, up hill and down. Corners were still corners, not hard to turn with horses but offering unanticipated hazards when improved surfaces invited higher speed. As part of its publicity work, the Lincoln Association passed the hat among the interests for the construction of pieces of experimental road—"seedling miles" they called them. But before their engineers had weighed the experiments and agreed on specifications and contractors had delivered finished miles, the "seedling miles" were out of date.

The interplay of better roads and better cars set up an endless competition. When the concrete road was built, the maker could sell a faster car; the faster car called for a road wider, safer, and more nearly straight. Every improvement by the highway engineer was matched by increased demands from users. Each new pressure forced a reconsideration of specifications, a broadening of the roadbed, heavier grading, and perhaps relocation of the road itself. Every year produced a new definition of what constituted an adequate highway. From stone surface it advanced to concrete strip. From single concrete lane, it spread to two or three or many. From clinging to the terrain it was shifted to new location with cuts and fills which put the railroad engineers to shame. And the interplay had no end, however deeply the research departments of the road builders studied the problem, or drew upon the scientists in the Bureau of Standards or the National Research Council. Thirty million cars created traffic problems not foreseen when the first million was registered.

Still further complexities, to be faced while the initial system was being set in place, arose from unanticipated change in the character and purpose of the cars. Conceived as a pleasure vehicle, usable on city streets, the automobile speedily acquired cross-country habits and learned to carry burdens. The notion that trucks could not be used out of town with profit was abandoned as the roads to town lengthened their effective radius. Intercity trucking forced a way over the eastern net, driven to it by the congestion of railroads during the World War. It was news worth printing when an occasional war worker took his furniture to Washington over the roads. Streetcar strikes in the towns uncovered the carrying capacity of jitneys on the city streets and prepared the way for the autobus. The strikes of railroad labor taught the shipper the possibilities of the truck for pickup and delivery; and soon the trucks and trailers crowded the passenger cars on the narrow roads.

More than a mere matter of traffic, the truck produced problems of con-



struction, for the better the road the heavier could be the load and the higher the speed. When the trucks took to roads of dirt or stone they ground them into obstructive ruts; they broke down the early concrete slabs. The taxpayer protested the commercial use which destroyed the road and forced the building of a new road before the bonds issued for the old road had been retired. The railroad was threatened by a new competition, in which the competitor escaped the heavy cost of owning and maintaining his own roadbed. In the Motor Carriers Act of August 9, 1935,<sup>23</sup> Congress extended the provisions of the Interstate Commerce Act over part of the business of the truck and bus, while the Supreme Court protected the right of the state to control the traffic on its highways by means of regulation of size, weight, and speed.

Roads alone could not complete the intricate new system of communication. There were also the bottlenecks. At any stage of the development of any of the highway systems the natural topography of the United States had exercised a coercive influence upon route and distance. The small rivers, as well as the great, had impeded traffic.

In the period of the old frontiers, the ford and ferry had their place, while highway bridges lagged behind. In the railroad period bridgebuilding had been limited by costs and engineering skills, and the car ferry had slowed down traffic at the water's edge. The two great cities of the seaboard, New York and San Francisco, were substantially cut off from the main bulk of the continent by water barriers. No railroad bridge crossed the Hudson below Poughkeepsie, while San Francisco had an impressive bay between it and the termini of the main continental routes. When the automobile came it found the roadways on the railroad bridges narrow and inadequate, or lacking, and ordinary bridges too weak and narrow. The elimination of the bottlenecks was a necessary part of the completion of the highway system, even in its first frontier phase.

Men had for generations, in moments of impractical dreaming, conceived the usefulness of bridges across the lower Hudson, the lower Mississippi, the Bay of San Francisco, and hundreds of other impediments to free communication. As the highway movement began, New York was facing the problems of congested life on a narrow island and had acquired engineering experience which could be transferred to serve the highways. It had crossed East River with the Brooklyn Bridge, which the Roeblings had completed for it in 1883. St. Louis was a decade earlier, for the Eads Bridge across the Mississippi was opened in 1874.

When the demand for unbroken highway access became pressing, New

<sup>23</sup> *U. S. Statutes at Large*, 74 Cong., 1 sess., p. 543.

York, in co-operation with New Jersey and with the blessings of Congress, undertook the first of its vehicular tunnels under the Hudson. Finished in 1927, the Holland Tunnels marked an era in the elimination of bottlenecks and the crest in the movement in which they were important exhibits. The bridges were already creeping down the Hudson, as much to serve the through routes as to meet the local need. Poughkeepsie acquired a vehicular bridge in 1930, alongside the old cantilever of the railroad. Bear Mountain had been reached in 1924. The George Washington Bridge connecting the northern end of Manhattan with Fort Lee was opened in 1931, "the most impressive as well as the greatest engineering structure of this generation"<sup>24</sup> until the Golden Gate Bridge came into use in 1937. And Philadelphia had made connection across the Delaware with Camden by a suspension bridge dedicated in the year of the sesquicentennial of independence, 1926.

On the West Coast the dreams of bridges across the Bay of San Francisco were brought to life during the same years. Private corporations were permitted to build and had opened three bridges across the bay and its arms even before the Holland Tunnels came into use. By the end of the decade negotiations were under way for the larger structures, the Bay Bridge (1936) and the Golden Gate Bridge (1937), which gave to San Francisco direct lanes from Union Square to the main highways of the continent.

The Father of Waters, too, was eliminated as an obstruction when bridges below Memphis were demanded and provided. Before the decade of the depression was ended, there was a highway bridge even at New Orleans (1935), bearing the name of Huey P. Long, while at Baton Rouge (1940), Natchez (1940), and Vicksburg (1930) unbroken roads crossed from east to west.

There was a highway system in operation in the early thirties, wherever the precise date may fall. Its institutions were functioning so that when depression called for jobs the relief funds could be funneled into going organizations for expenditure, enlarging the whole system beyond expectation of immediate need. How far the huge investment in highways had by its drain upon American resources helped to bring on the depression, and to make it worse than need be, deserves inquiry. But once again the United States, cut off from part of its past as it was crossed by the sudden slicing of a new frontier, was confronted by a new future. It is too soon to estimate the consequences of the change in terms of increased mobility and flexibility.

<sup>24</sup> *Engineering News-Record*, Oct. 22, 1931, p. 637.

## The Death of Catherine I of Russia

WALTHER KIRCHNER\*

THE death of Catherine I, wife of Peter the Great and from 1725 to 1727 autocrat of the Russians, is still shrouded in mystery. The *histoire anecdote* of Hans Georg von Westphalen does not give the solution to the riddle, but because it contradicts existing evidence in essential points, it constitutes an important contribution and an untapped source of information.<sup>1</sup>

The report, which bears no date, is to be found in the Rigsarkiv in Copenhagen where it forms part of the diplomatic correspondence of the envoy extraordinary, Hans Georg von Westphalen, for the year 1726. This date is misleading, because the report deals with the years 1725 to 1727, and could not have been written before 1730; the reign of Tsarina Anne is mentioned and she ascended the throne in 1730. Since Westphalen died in 1733, it must have been composed between 1730 and 1733. It was thus written not less than three years after the events therein described took place.

Hans Georg von Westphalen was a Dane by birth and had spent some time in the service of Poland. After 1715, he represented Denmark at the court of St. Petersburg, and though no great diplomat, he was a reliable observer.<sup>2</sup> He may have overemphasized his own role in the events surrounding the death of Catherine and his influence on the choice of the successor, but he certainly had a large share in the intrigues which so well served the interests of his king.<sup>3</sup> His report throws light on influences generally neglected and furnishes explanations for an otherwise obscure course of events. He accounts for the surprising change of policy of Russia's powerful minister,

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<sup>1</sup> An unpublished document by Denmark's ambassador Hans Georg von Westphalen revealing the conspiracy of the foreign ministers in St. Petersburg and the enigma surrounding the tsarina's last will and testament, in the Rigsarkiv in Copenhagen, Tydske Kancelliets Udenrigs Afdeling, Russland C, (133). Photostat copies in the private library of Professor Waldemar Westergaard at Los Angeles have been available to the writer.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Raymond E. Lindgren, "Hans Georg von Westphalen and Northern Diplomacy, 1715-1716" (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of California at Los Angeles, 1943).

<sup>3</sup> In the introduction to his report, Westphalen asserts that he was commanded to describe the role which he himself had played on the occasion of Peter II's elevation to the throne of Russia. He liked to fancy himself in the role of a "king-maker" and, in 1730, also claimed a share in making Anne tsarina. Alexander Brückner, *Katharina die Zweite* (Berlin, 1883), p. 5.

Menshikov;<sup>4</sup> he shows how the idea of Peter II's betrothal to Menshikov's daughter originated, Westphalen himself being, as he asserts, the author; and he describes the events connected with the last will of Catherine, which show that it was a forgery, though historians up to now have accepted it as genuine.<sup>5</sup> As a whole, his report, accepting its trustworthiness in the main, throws light upon fundamental questions of Russian court life and policy of that time.

In 1725, when Peter the Great died prematurely in consequence of his dissipations, Russia was in a state of transition which would have demanded the full attention of an energetic ruler. Peter's death released a flood of private ambitions and personality problems which distracted the minds of those in leading positions. Far from trying to consolidate the progress made under Peter, these prominent persons concentrated upon a detrimental struggle for dominance. To gain or to keep power, the counsellors and ministers, among them Prince Menshikov and Count Tolstoy, engaged in intrigues revolving around the person of the future rulers through whom they hoped to exercise influence. Catherine's life, undermined by Peter's illness and her own debauchery, was also bound to ebb shortly, and the attention of all was centered on the question of succession. A large party supported the husband of Catherine's eldest daughter, the duke of Holstein, while others were devoted to the interests of the two orphans left by Peter's unhappy son Alexis, Grand Duke Peter and Princess Natalia.

It is with a description of the fate of the last two that Westphalen's report begins. After relating the well-known measures taken by Peter the Great regarding his succession, he describes the pitiable state in which the children found themselves. They grew up first under the guidance of a Swedish sergeant and later under that of the Swedish widow of a tailor and that of a most pedantic governor, and under constant supervision of the duchess of Holstein. Their every step was guarded; not even promenading in the imperial gardens was allowed to them without a special pass from their aunt. To complete their isolation, the duchess went to such lengths as to prohibit the presence of a tailor; when clothing was needed for them, their teacher had to take the measurements. Yet often enough they went without shoes and stockings. A marriage alliance of Russia and Austria did not better their

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Mardefeld's report to the king of Prussia, which is little enlightening on the cause for the change, Apr. 29, 1727, *Sbornik, Imp. Russkoe istoricheskii obshechestvo* (148 vols.; St. Petersburg, 1867-1916), XV, 333 ff.

<sup>5</sup> About the legal implications and far-reaching significance of Catherine's last will, cf. V. O. Kluchevsky, *A History of Russia*, tr. by C. J. Hogarth (London and New York, 1911-26), IV, 273. Solov'ev, who saw the will, asserts that it was signed "in the imperial hand of Catherine," but his footnote indicates the possibility of a falsification. It also takes up the role of Princess Elizabeth and the points in the will which are of questionable authenticity. S. M. Solov'ev, *Istoria Rossii s drevneishikh Vremen* (29 vols.; St. Petersburg, 1851-79), XIX, 1021 f.

position, for it had been specifically stipulated that the Habsburgs were to refrain from any direct or indirect intervention in the internal affairs of Russia, and Count Rabutin, who arrived in St. Petersburg as imperial minister, could do nothing to help the poor children.

Such was the situation when, in 1726, Prince Menshikov, former lover and chief minister of the tsarina, went to Courland. Contrary to the orders of the tsarina and the wishes of the duke of Holstein, who desired to see Courland under the rule of his cousin, Prince Adolf of Holstein, bishop of Lübeck, Menshikov upon his arrival began to pursue a scheme for acquiring Courland for himself. His plans aroused the duke of Holstein, who had long hated him and who presently contrived to have him banished to Siberia.

Upon his return from Courland—Westphalen's report goes on—Menshikov, unaware of the duke of Holstein's schemes, took part in the deliberations concerning the fate of Peter's grandchildren. He himself suggested that under the pretext of military education abroad the young grand duke should be taken by boat to Kiel and that on the way he should be assassinated. While word was to be spread that he had fallen overboard, his sister was to be quietly interned in a cloister. This plan would have secured the succession of the duke of Holstein or his wife, but it was given up by Menshikov as soon as he learned of the intrigues of the duke against him.<sup>6</sup> Not only did he see himself opposed in the Courland question but also in his private affairs; for the tsarina, who had enrolled the fiancé of his daughter, a Count Sapieha, "on the list of her lovers, who served per semester," had brought disgrace on the minister's house, and this had happened, as Menshikov was made to believe, at the instigation of the duke of Holstein. Pretending to be conscience-stricken, he took back his advice regarding the dispatch of the young grand duke and instead contrived to advance this very grand duke's claims to the throne.

Westphalen, "excellently informed," considered the situation a gift of Providence. He, too, was opposed to the duke of Holstein, whose desire to regain his Holstein dominions then occupied by Denmark made him an unswerving enemy of the Danish king. Ever since the death of Peter the Great, Westphalen, who had been aware of the machinations of the duke of Holstein, anticipated the worst for his country. Letter after letter had been sent to the Danish king warning him of Russian preparations to recover Holstein for the tsarina's son-in-law and giving detailed reports about the construction and equipment of a Russian fleet.<sup>7</sup> Though eventually West-

<sup>6</sup> Westphalen claims for himself the merit of having increased Menshikov's animosity against the duke of Holstein by supplying the minister through devious channels with inflammatory news regarding the activities of the duke.

<sup>7</sup> MSS. Rigsarkiv Copenhagen, T.K.U.A., Russland C, (133). Cf. James F. Chance, *The Alliance of Hanover* (London, 1923), pp. 474 ff.

phalen's fears proved exaggerated and the dreaded war, which Russia, supported by Sweden, and possibly even by England or Prussia, was expected to wage against Denmark, never occurred, the danger remained as long as the duke of Holstein could influence Russian policies. Consequently, the possibility of a co-operation of Westphalen and Menshikov to undo the duke of Holstein was an opportune chance, indeed.

Westphalen promptly went to see his great protector, the senator Dmitry Michaelowicz Golítsyn, who at the same time was the sincerest friend of young Peter and "without doubt the best mind in Russia." Explaining that the estrangement between Menshikov and the duke of Holstein paved the way for friendship between Denmark and Russia, as fervently desired by Golítsyn as the disgrace of the duke of Holstein, Westphalen asked for advice and help. The senator, attacking in strong terms the character and ingratitude of the duke of Holstein and his influence on the sovereign, "who generally did not know what she did," offered Westphalen money and suggested that he get in touch with Austria's ambassador, Rabutin.

However, before following this advice, Westphalen approached a young Danish lady who was a member of Menshikov's household and a friend of the minister's "old, ugly, and mischievous, but also spirited, elegant and above all intriguing" sister-in-law, who exercised considerable influence over Menshikov. By these devious means and with the help of two other persons, Westphalen intensified Menshikov's hatred of the duke of Holstein and warned him against alleged schemes intended to ruin the minister's standing with the tsarina. At the same time, the Danish ambassador tried to keep informed upon the actions of the other party by keeping his spies in the house of his colleague, Count Bassewitz, Holstein's minister.

Having prepared the ground, Westphalen judged that the time was propitious for addressing himself to Menshikov personally and to submit to him his "favorite plan," envisaging the marriage of the young interned Grand Duke Peter to Menshikov's daughter, who had lost her fiancé to the tsarina.<sup>8</sup> Menshikov listened to the proposal without committing himself, and inquired cautiously as to the true authorship of the idea. He then suggested that the Dane take up the matter with Rabutin and with Golítsyn and report on their reaction. At the conclusion of the conversation Menshikov presented him with a topaz worth a hundred rubles.

On that evening Westphalen visited Rabutin. He said that he came on

<sup>8</sup> There is no corroborative evidence that the plan of this marriage actually originated with Westphalen. He may well have taken the credit without being entitled to it. But it undeniably fitted in well with Danish policies, for it tied the powerful minister to the party opposing Denmark's enemy, the duke of Holstein. However, *cf.* Kluchevsky, who mentions "the brains of certain foreign ambassadors [who] evolved a plan" of such a marriage. Kluchevsky, IV, 272.

his own initiative and without the Danish court's knowing anything of the steps undertaken by him. Professing his deep, humane, and personal interest in the sad fate of the unfortunate grandchildren of Peter the Great, he appealed to the heart of Austria's ambassador. Though he realized the political setup which so far had denied Rabutin any chance of interfering in this question, he still felt that a different attitude was asked for, now that the ambitions of the duke of Holstein jeopardized the very life of the poor children. Rabutin asserted his deep pity for the young grand duke and his sister; he saw Natalia deprived of her future husband, the young bishop of Lübeck, who had been promised to her but who had begun to make advances toward Catherine's daughter Elizabeth. Yet he insisted that he saw no means of altering the situation, whereupon Westphalen pointed out the change which the emerging antagonism of Menshikov and the duke of Holstein had brought about and finally came out with his plan for the marriage of Menshikov's daughter and young Peter.

After a brief silence Rabutin exclaimed: "This is one of the finest ideas, and had not occurred to me before. It is beautifully thought out and will certainly go down in the speculation as one of the finest inventions; but," added he, "Menshikov having had such a share in the death of the poor Cesarewitz, will he risk giving his daughter to the son, the Grand Duke?"

"If Menshikov," answered the Danish ambassador, "possessed more prudence and less vanity," he, Westphalen, would be dubious of the chances for the project; but as conditions were, he considered it feasible, provided Rabutin could guarantee the consent of the emperor. The Austrian promised to secure it, and Westphalen left in order to see Golitsyn. The senator approved of everything. Fearing the intercession of Menshikov's enemy, Count Tolstoy, and of the archbishop of Novgorod, he was doubtful of the successful conclusion. However, he was happy to see the life of the grand duke saved at least, and he once more offered financial help to Westphalen.<sup>9</sup>

About this time, the duchess of Holstein felt the first indications of a pregnancy, and this fact, combined with an obvious decline of the health of the tsarina, caused both sides to redouble their efforts. In order better to guarantee the succession to his wife, the duke of Holstein secured by bribes the support of important members of the army and gained for himself and his friend, Count Bonde, the command of the Guards Preobrazhensky and Semenovskiy respectively. Greatly alarmed, Menshikov went to see "his heart's friend," the tsarina. He repeated to her all his great services and how he had

<sup>9</sup> At this point Westphalen emphasizes the correctness of his statements by referring to his own dispatches of early 1727, in which he had at that time reported the foregoing events to the defunct king of Denmark.



secured her the throne, and reproached her with the affront done him when she had taken his daughter's fiancé. In exchange he demanded Catherine's consent to the marriage of this daughter to the Grand Duke Peter. The tsarina, "blushing from shame" and "obviously fearing that Menshikov—this boor—would also reproach her for all her other extravagances and debaucheries," gave in. Menshikov thereupon informed Westphalen, who also soon received news from Rabutin that the consent of the Habsburgs for the proposed match had been forthcoming. A conference of the three, Menshikov, Rabutin, and Westphalen, followed in which it was resolved to get a written consent from Catherine.

The tsarina was invited to visit Menshikov and came presently to see him. He "first made her gulp two bottles of old Ungar wine, which he followed up by several brim-full glasses of excellent Ratafia de Turin. Then he entered into business matters" and made her confirm her assent by an irrevocable oath. Finally, he made her sign a paper, which "she did as best she could; for she could hardly write her name, so badly brought up had she been."

As soon as he was informed of these happenings, Westphalen, by order of Menshikov, secured the support of General Golitsyn, brother of the senator, by offering the marriage of Menshikov's son to one of the general's daughters, though—as Menshikov complained—she was really too poor for his son. In the meantime Menshikov went to see the young grand duke, to whom he granted freedom to move as he pleased without passes from the duchess of Holstein and at whose disposal he put vehicles and a guard.

The changes were greeted with joy by the Russians in general but with dismay by the party of the duke of Holstein. Count Tolstoy, a member of the latter, vehemently warned the tsarina, but without success. Shortly thereafter, Catherine, after a thousand debaucheries, fell mortally ill. Learning from the court physician that Catherine would not escape the consequences of her past life, Menshikov adopted a desperate, "nay indeed a criminal" measure. "No longer would he budge from the room where the Tsarina lay; day and night he kept at the head of her bed. She took no medication but from his hands, and before giving it to her he tried it out in her presence. To make his presence more agreeable he took pains to slip her from time to time all sorts of drinks while the doctor's back was turned." In this way it was impossible for the duke and the duchess to speak to their mother without being overheard by Menshikov. So they finally gave up and retired into the house of a friend of Tolstoy outside of St. Petersburg.

Their departure offered the sought-for opportunity to Menshikov. When Catherine became alarmed at the absence of her children, "he fell on his

knees and with hot tears in his eyes" explained it by accusing them, Count Tolstoy, and others of a conspiracy "to dethrone" the tsarina and "to confine [her] sacred person to a narrow prison, to spend there the rest of [her] days," while the duchess of Holstein was to seize the government. He named as accomplices, besides Count Tolstoy, the general Buturlin, his own brother-in-law, Count Devier, Alexander Naryshkin, a young prince Dolgoruky, and a number of others.

Catherine, "believing this declaration of Menshikov like the gospel" and unwilling to investigate the truth, ordered Menshikov to arrest the conspirators, though not to touch her children. Menshikov immediately did so, had them arrested one by one, tortured, accused, not of conspiracy against the tsarina, but of having plotted the assassination of the grand duke on the intended voyage to Kiel, and then stripped them of their rank, their honors, confiscated their goods, and banished them. "Thus, at one blow, he deprived the Duke and Duchess of Holstein of their friends, adherents, and all who could assist them with their advice."

After securing this success Menshikov had Count Bassewitz come to see him. He explained that the tsarina was near death, and that all Russians wished her succeeded by Grand Duke Peter. Though he himself could afford to let things take their course and await the destruction of the duke of Holstein, who had done everything to wreck his family, he was nevertheless willing to show to him and the children of his benefactor, Peter the Great, his gratitude for past kindness. He therefore wanted to make Catherine sign a will which gave to the duke, to his wife, and to Princess Elizabeth the custody (*contretelle*) of the future monarch and considerable annual pensions. In vain did Bassewitz oppose the plan; Menshikov asked him to keep quiet and to draw up the will appointing the young grand duke successor to the throne. It also recommended his marriage to Menshikov's daughter and gave permission for Elizabeth's marriage to the bishop of Lübeck. The rest dealt with the guardianship and the pensions.

Bassewitz, Stamske, and a private secretary of the duke, called Sauerland, drafted the will in German, and Menshikov "undertook," as Westphalen puts it, "the task of having it translated into Russian and of having it signed by the Tsarina. But since she had passed away before she could complete the business, princess Elizabeth was called, because she had served the function of signing, in the name of her mother, almost all her orders and other public documents. [She was to] affix the name of Catherine, as if the tsarina had signed it herself, which the princess did with much rejoicing in her heart after having read the article giving her permission to marry the

bishop of Luebeck. This signature was thus affixed the morning after the death of Tsarina Catherine, a fact which serves to make this so-called testament the greatest forgery on earth."

The day following the death of Catherine, the eighth of May, 1727, thus seemed to the exulting Westphalen "a day of joy and happiness, with no equal during all [his] life." The young grand duke was proclaimed sovereign and the duke of Holstein as commander of the Guards Preobrazhénsky had to assist in the ceremony.

The betrothal of Peter and Menshikov's daughter took place shortly thereafter. Westphalen was invited, Menshikov embraced him and thanked him for his valuable services and swore to see to it that they would not be forgotten and that the young monarch would make him a gift of land in Livonia or Esthonia. Eventually, however, this was not forthcoming. At the instigation of the senator, Dmitry Michaelowitz Golítsyn, the duke of Holstein with all his following had to leave soon, and so ended the duke's activities "which had brought Russia just a hand's breadth from her total destruction."

## Commodore Perry at Okinawa

### From the Unpublished Diary of a British Missionary

WILLIAM LEONARD SCHWARTZ\*

I. BOUND FOR JAPAN; NAHA, MAY 26–JULY 2, 1853

MAY 26, 1853. About noon I was invited to the Kung Kwang [public hall]<sup>1</sup> and most friendly received by our two first mandarins, the Tū ti kwan [regent of Ryukyu] and the Puchingkwan [treasurer]. The discourse mostly related to my leaving, which I told them I am resolved to do as soon as I shall have answers to my last letters, as I could not fix upon any line of conduct without knowing how our Society is now situated.

"Ship in sight!" First two, then three. Two are steamers. Surprising, that the mandarins are scarcely alarmed at this extraordinary appearance, perhaps they were better prepared for it than my ignorant simplicity.<sup>2</sup> After an hour's longer talk and repeated messengers from Mrs. B. I was permitted to take leave.

Two hours later. All three ships are Americans. It rained dreadfully. Still I thought it my duty to row out. Was immediately admitted into presence of—Commodore Perry.

Our forces may have discovered, at Naha, the stone tablets erected in 1926 and 1937 in honor of the writer of the preceding paragraphs. He was Bernard John Bettelheim, M.D., lay missionary of the Loochoo [Luchu] Naval Mission, resident in Naha since 1846. Though born in Pressburg, Hungary, in 1811, he had become a British subject. As a boy, he had shown marked ability, writing verse in Hebrew, German, and French at the age of nine. He left home in his thirteenth year, supporting himself as a tutor at Pesth and Vienna, winning the M.D. at Padua in 1836. Having practiced as a cholera specialist at Trieste, Naples, and other places, he became a surgeon in the Egyptian, and then in the Turkish, navy. While serving near Smyrna in 1840, Bettelheim was baptized by a British chaplain, at whose urging he set-

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<sup>1</sup> Bracketed material in the text of the diary is added by the editor.

<sup>2</sup> The diarist affords a hint that the Luchuan government may have known of the presence of American steamers in the China Sea. He writes on April 9 that he was "urgently asked" for complete information on the machinery and working of steamships. Aided by his wife, he prepared the desired diagrams and explanations in four days. His sources were David Mair's *Grammar of Natural and Experimental Philosophy* and the *Penny Cyclopaedia*.

tled in London. He was now proficient also in Italian, English, Spanish, Latin, Greek, Arabic, and Turkish. In London he worked as an independent missionary to Jew and Gentile. In 1843, he married Rose Barwick.

In the same year, Lieutenant Herbert J. Clifford, R.N., last surviving officer of Captain Basil Hall's Pacific exploring expedition, opened a public subscription to send a missionary to Luchu. At Naha, one Sunday in 1816, this officer had told some Luchuan chiefs that they had been dismissed from the *Alceste* because: "They are chin chinning Joss [worshipping God]—just as you do." In remorse for this thoughtlessness, Clifford, undiscouraged by the refusal of the established missionary societies, entered singlehandedly upon the enterprise. In 1844, an old messmate wrote Clifford: "I'll lend you a hand—let us at once make it a 'Blue Jacket' affair," which is how the independent Loochoo Naval Mission came into being. Bettelheim answered their call for a missionary, and sailed for China on September 9, 1845, accompanied by his wife and daughter, Rose Victoria. A Miss James, an "infant schoolmistress," went along but refused to debark at Naha. During months of waiting at Hongkong, the doctor began the study of Chinese and recruited a teacher to accompany him to Ryukyu. He disembarked at Naha from a trading schooner on April 30, 1846, about one hundred years ago.

Seven years of stubborn opposition, provoked by officers of the Satsuma clan, the Japanese overlords of Ryukyu, were to be the Bettelheims' lot. A French Catholic had lived at Tomari, near Naha, since 1844, but his successors withdrew in 1848. The Bettelheims' only visitors came from occasional merchant vessels, the English and French flagships, and other naval units on the China station. The doctor's furlough was much overdue when Perry's squadron arrived, and the diary shows him to be weary, high-strung, and a victim of insomnia. Since they left home, a son, Bernard James Gutzlaff, and a second daughter, Lucy Fanny Loochoo, had been born to the couple.

Part of the doctor's time on Okinawa was spent in coaching the government's interpreters in English and receiving instruction from them in Chinese, Luchuan, and Japanese. Both he and his wife learned to write the Chinese characters, and Mrs. Bettelheim helped to copy the doctor's translations of the Gospels and Acts into the Luchuan and Japanese languages. Bettelheim was luckily equipped with a "manifold writer," on which he wrote the very full intimate diary whose quaint pages, forwarded in batches to mission headquarters, were quoted in the annual reports of the society.

Only a few specimens of these reports have been preserved, and almost all Dr. Bettelheim's original diary was destroyed by a fire at Brookfield, Missouri. The generosity of Mr. Arthur E. Bettelheim of Kansas City, Missouri, one of

five surviving grandchildren, has allowed me to study the extant fragments. Fortunately, the record is complete for two periods in the life of Commodore Perry. The first cycle gives an outsider's account of Perry's doings upon arrival at Ryukyu, bound for Japan; the other part tells us a little more about Perry's last call at Naha, after the opening of Japan, when he imposed an unratified treaty on the kingdom of Luchu.

For lack of space, I shall quote only entries that either show how a British outsider regarded the "Great Commodore," his new acquaintance, or reveal the hitherto unknown services rendered by Dr. Bettelheim to the expedition. What became of the missionary after leaving Naha, in 1854, will be told at the end of this article.

Found Commodore very communicative. He appeared to have no mystery at all before me. I knew in the first five minutes that he wants to go to Japan, make Loochoo his rendezvous station, and that his present Expedition is not empowered to use force, except—so I inferred from several hints—the Americans be attacked, or insulted. Such frankness marvellously contrasted with the morose taciturnity of our English Envoys, who give importance to matters most plain and understood by people even of a very mean degree of sagacity. [The probable reference is to the conduct of Admiral Thomas Cochrane, who called at Naha in October, 1846, with the *Daedalus*, *Starling*, and *Vestal*. He communicated with Bettelheim through his secretary.] All is mystery with our English folks, and impenetrable state diplomacy, which it would be beneath their aristocratic dignity to consult upon, even with an English missionary, who certainly could have nothing against their plans, suppose also he had no means of advancing them, which, however, is here, far from being the case, as the missionary's local experience cannot but be advantageous, and very materially contributes to facilitate negotiation. I was also perfectly convinced, in a few moments conversation, on our position here as missionaries, that Commodore Perry does not only not incline but has even objections to pushing religious matters into his negotiation, and he even enjoined on me careful avoidance of any allusion to similar topics. He spoke of erecting here a hospital, and leaving cattle, imported partly from China, partly from the Cape of Good Hope. I could easily see this was meant only as a pretext for getting a house or two and some ground, on this account all the more palatable to me, who am persuaded there is no way of aiding Loochoo and Japan better than by forcing upon them a foreign population. I promised Commodore Perry that although I was only physician for human beings, I should with pleasure study veterinary medicine to mind his farm well. In fact I was so pleased with the frankness and condescension [*sic*] of the Commodore, and what is more, the object of his Expedition appeared to me so unmistakable an answer to our repeated and anxious prayer for Japan that I offered to serve him as a son serves a father . . . and to obey him strictly, even where my humble opinion differed from his in all matters pertaining to the propriety and success of the Expedition.

I was then shown a group taken by one of the artists connected with the Expedition, I think his name is Mr. Heine, a German. The group represented the Té-fus [commissioners], and retinue who waited upon the Commodore (as usual when ships arrive), with the long card of the Napa [*sic*] Mayor. The group was

excellent, and I actually recognized several faces. . . . But Commodore's favorite appears to be Mr. Brown, another artist, who produced two portraits of (I believe) a reprieved Chief and his beautiful wife at the Cape, both indeed masterly done and quite finished. The hand of the Chief and its position was repeatedly and loudly admired by Commodore Perry, so that I could easily infer he is not merely head of the military and diplomatic part of the expedition, but considers himself connoisseur and amateur of arts in a prominent degree. All this united wrought most favorably upon me. For I am exceedingly fond of comprehensive characters, and finding Commodore Perry is many sided and gifted with an abundance of talent—I even suspicioned he had tried himself at the Chinese pencil—I gave him my full confidence and esteem. What shall I say more? When I heard that Dr. Williams,<sup>3</sup> the talented missionary brother of Canton, is Interpreter to the Expedition. . . . He was on board the *Saratoga*. "*Saratoga?*" asked I. "Yes", said Commodore Perry, "all our ships have either names of rivers, as the *Susquehanna*, *Mississippi*, or of renowned places, as the *Saratoga* (I believe this is the name of a celebrated watering place in the United States), all *national* names." Commodore sounded the *a*, à la Webster, long, as in the noun 'nation', and not as we do, short, as in *mat*, *hat*. I had thereby some tangible evidence of a passage I somewhere read in the newspapers, regarding the new American English, as spoken in the Congress. This, however, had very little to do with the Japanese Expedition.

Now there came out a letter for us from our friend the esteemed Chaplain [Reverend John Hobson] at Shanghai, accompanied by a parcel of bran fresh newspapers, North China *Heralds* up to May 14. To get 10 days after publication foreign news in Loochoo is a glory belonging to America.

Commodore Perry gladly acceded to my request to give the men, who rowed me out, something to eat and drink, evincing thereby his intention of gaining the confidence of the natives by doing them bodily good, a view which [I] myself endeavour to act upon in Loochoo.

I parted from Commodore with a grateful heart cheered beyond expression. I had nothing more to wish. He was quite the man after my own heart. I did not even consider it a drawback that he intended having nothing to do with religious matters, although I frankly told him in the case of Japan . . . the religious aspect of the question is purely political. If he shall find it out—as I think he soon will—I had no doubt but he will warmly take up the now discarded topic, and I had much rather see him act energetically, without direct bearing on religious toleration, than hear him cant and rant away in pious mood, and from apparent Christian scruples be prevented from attacking the impious, godless, Christian hating government of Japan.

May 27. Commodore, according to promise, sent a boat for me to come to breakfast and meet Dr. Williams. Was introduced to several officers of the Squadron. Dr. W. almost frightened me with his pale face and corresponding frozenness of behaviour. I anxiously inquired whether he was or had been ill, and was assured that this was his usual complexion and that he was notwithstanding in perfect health. I soon overcame my first unfavorable impression, thinking only of his having been for so many years missionary to the Chinese, the useful elementary works he published and edited, and the great Expedition of which he now formed so prominent a member. . . . I acquiesced in the request of the Commodore

<sup>3</sup> For a brief memoir by his son, and for Dr. Williams' notes on his relations with Bettelheim, cf. S. Wells Williams, first interpreter of the expedition, "*A Journal of the Perry Expedition to Japan (1853-54)*," ed. by his son, F. W. Williams, in Asiatic Society of Japan, *Transactions*, XXXVII (1910), 7-46, 227-55.



to accompany Dr. Wm. and an officer to the mayor. Commodore Perry told me Dr. Williams was to be the interpreter and myself—I could scarcely make out what role I was to play, whether as simple guide, or counsel, or whisperer. I confess I was not pleased with the indistinctness of my commission, still I passively submitted and went. . . . At this first meeting [with the mayor], I was sorry to experience how poorly off the great Expedition is in the Interpreters' Department, Dr. Wm. himself speaking more the Canton than the Peking dialect, and his aged Chinaman—though desirous of figuring as a native of Peking—speaking a hardly intelligible Ningpo mouth. I could now somewhat more clearly perceive what for my presence at the meeting was desired; but having received no distinct orders to speak, I held my peace. . . .

May 28. Had a quite sleepless night, the mistakes of the yesterday's interpreter-ship giving me no rest till I resolved to write to the Commodore on the subject. . . . [His letter concludes:] Whatever your Squadron needs on provision—if you desire to purchase through government, and not on the markets, I'll pledge myself to have effected it in an hour after the arrival of an officer with such message. I beg to remain / with profoundest respectfulness, / Sir, / your most humble and obedient servant.<sup>4</sup>

I was just having a Chinese chat with my Todzies [Luchuan language officers] . . . when a boat arrived with a message from the Commodore that I should immediately come on board. Went. Commodore told me he had received my note, and thought I might have yesterday immediately repaired what I thought had been wrong. I said I did not feel myself empowered to speak at all at that meeting. Commodore Perry then told me plainly, at the meeting of this day [when the regent of the kingdom was to board the flagship], I should be interpreter as well as Dr. Williams. . . .

[After the meeting]. Dined with the Commodore—Returned with all the pursers who wrote out their orders. The manner in which we found it necessary to proceed was thus: I received first an order for provisions from each mess in the several ships. This was then written over into Chinese and sent to the government's purveyors. Several articles were often not granted at all, and if then, a great abatement made. The purveyors sent off a ticket with every batch, which I had to translate and sign. The same ticket is receipted on board each ship, and then sent back to me to be entered into the accounts. Certainly a fatiguing and time consuming route. [Dr. Bettelheim expressed frequent surprise at the patience with which the powerful Americans tolerated the negligent way their provision orders were handled. See p. 268 below, under date of May 30.]

May 29. Lordsday. . . . Towards evening two officers of the *Saratoga* called on us, wanting a boat to return on board. While waiting they expressed a strong desire to possess some Loochooan articles, and having with me some hair ornaments . . . I gave them each a pair. These were the first who obtained something Loochooan, and they were the first who offered me something imported by the Squadron, a few cigars. Hitherto I had not been able to get out of the whole Squadron even as much as a cigar, and not even for money.

To show my readers how deep my interest in their Expedition is, I must acquaint them with the fact that notwithstanding my heavy morning business on its behalf, and going to and from the *Susquehanna* [flagship], which lays about

<sup>4</sup> To save space, a bar has been used in addresses, salutations, and endings to indicate short lines in the original documents which have been run together here.

two miles off my place [a Buddhist temple on the land side of Nami-no-ue headland], and doing the honors to some visitors, besides sending off a good batch of provisions . . . I have written this day a short vocabulary, including some necessary phrases, and a few grammatical hints, stretching over twenty-eight two columned pages of large 16° size; a labor by which I hope the Exploring Expedition, which is to go out tomorrow, may be greatly benefitted, and the whole Squadron be greatly accommodated.

May 30. Mr. Barry, purser of *Susquehanna*, came, showing me a note he had made under dictation of the Commodore, as follows:

"Ask Dr. Bettelheim how he can be compensated for his services which we want for the interest of the Squadron, whether in presents of provisions from the ships or in money. Ask him to obtain a place for us to land our cattle, bulls, cows, and sheep, and how they will be taken care of. We can land some [hired Chinese] coolies if necessary. Ask him to obtain a house for our use on shore going to land our men for exercise and drill in small parties at a time, tell the mayor not to be uneasy, the intentions are all friendly. Tell the people the same."

Mr. Barry and the purser of the *Saratoga*, Mr. Harris, loudly discussed among themselves what method, in their view, would be best to overcome the craft of the native authorities. Of course a good deal of plain application of power entered their best scheme. . . . Our friends appear to have forgotten that their Expedition now—droll enough—was to be a friendly mission. I call it droll, for they who expect to get in a friendly way any concession from Japan, in the slightest approaching a permission for foreigners to do or obtain anything without the vexatious interference of government, show they had never had the simplest notion or intelligence of Japanese matters.

I had this time taken with me a tobacco stand ornamented with silver handles, intended for the Commodore, and a Loochooan eating box, of the better class, for Commander Buchanan. The former, being indeed a collector of rarities, appeared pleased with my humble offer. Of the latter I never heard or saw anything to infer either his pleasure or displeasure. . . . The Commodore ordered Mr. Barry to hand me over the note above quoted, on which I could say nothing better than that I trust entirely in the Commodore's kind disposition, and assured him once more of my faithfulness independent of any regard to reward. He now gave a written order for some officers of the *Saratoga* and Dr. Wms. to accompany me on shore, where we were to get our office for the Squadron, the mode how being of course left with my humble self. . . . I must not omit to mention that while on board the *Saratoga* Dr. W. handed me over a Marocco [*sic*] bound large quarto volume, being the Dictionary of the English Language, by Webster, and presented to me by the Editor. . . . I have not a single book of the sort, and yet as Foreigner having much to write in the english, feel the need of it very much.

U. S. STEAMFRIGATE *SUSQUEHANNA* / NAPA, 31 May 1853

To Reverend Dr. Bettelheim,

SIR, / Commodore Perry has directed me to present you for the use of your family and of the Mission, one Barrel of Beef, one Barrel Pork, one Barrel Flour, one Box Sperm Candles, two Barrels Pilot Bread, two Sacks Rice, and ten Gallons Whiskey. The Commodore asks you to accept these presents as a proof of his appreciation of your services to the Squadron under his command, and as an earnest of the intention of his government to reward all who may contribute in

any way to further their views. The Commodore hopes he will have the pleasure of adding greatly to these presents in the future.

I am respectfully, / Sir / your obedient servant

G. R. BARRY, Purser.

Overjoyed as I was with the written as well as practical expression of the Commodore's approval of my humble services I could still not do better than show the officer who brought off the things, [a] copy of my last Report, containing a statement which makes it clear that until we had a cellar or other regular storehouse, the climate here does not permit to keep even salt meats, and much less other food for any length of time. It would neither have looked well for the Loochooans—to whom nothing in our house can remain hid—to see us accept victuals from a Squadron for which we daily urge them to find fresh supplies. . . . We had therefore to send back all except the candles and the whiskey which we supposed our *Todzies* and other visitors might like. We were rather surprized that notwithstanding we had given Mr. Barry, on his yesterday's inquiries, a hint that we should want some soap, calico, lamp chimneys, shoes for myself, some butter and other articles, all which he had noted down, none of them had been granted us. . . .

June 4. Today the Exploring Expedition came back, just after having encountered heavy rain. . . . About noon, Ichirazichi [a mandarin speaking fluent Pekinese and fair English] comes, stating that they had resolved to wait upon the Commodore with a dispatch and wished me to interpret for them. . . . About 4 o'clock, and what with running to and from and attending to a variety of business which made me quite forget to take some nourishment, I felt now so weak and exhausted that I think the shrewd eyes of the Commodore easily guessed at the state I was in, and he kindly ordered the steward to bring me dinner, which I greatly enjoyed. Commodore also ordered me during his absence in Japan to bring to paper whatever I knew by hearing or otherwise of the history of Loochoo, which I of course unhesitatingly promised. I had incidentally the most decisive information of my not accompanying the Squadron to Japan.

June 5. Rev. Dr. Bettelheim

DEAR SIR. / Commodore Perry directs that a ram and two female goats, giving milk and having kids, be procured and sent aboard the ship by Wednesday morning next, with proper fodder to support them a month. Will you be pleased to give the necessary orders?

G. R. BARRY / Purser, / U. S. Steamfrigate *Susquehanna*.

. . . The Commodore himself with Captain Walker (*Saratoga*) and pursers Speiden and Harris and other officers arrived. [June 6 was the date when the commodore was to land and force his reception at the palace of Shuri against the wishes of the mandarins.] The Commodore immediately asked how matters stood on shore. . . . "I do not think," said the Commodore, "for the sake of the Loochooan mandarins, to deprive my men even of a single breakfast. Their breakfast time is at nine, and the procession cannot begin to move before 10 o'clock." All present, myself included, applauded the paternal feeling of the Commodore towards his men, and having done what I thought to be my duty in the matter, I could not but leave the rest to the Commodore himself. Commodore Perry was today particularly kind and condescending. He kissed my two girls, telling my boy he kissed none but girls, then cast his penetrating eye into my poor study, and

promised me a pair of windows, shoes for myself, and a shoemaker for my children, we having told him we had just got in a box brought over by the *Saratoga*, the leather and all requisites for shoemaking, but no leather for big shoes.

June 7. The whole of this day we had hard and partly fruitless work. The Commodore had strictly ordered the pursers to settle their accounts, but there was none of the purveyors to be got, although they had been repeatedly sent for, and the one who after hours of waiting arrived, brought his accounts with him in such confused state, that himself confessed he could not make them out. There was also an order of the Commodore for 200 boards, which rather startled the purveyors—as they had obtained hints of a hospital which the Commodore wanted to erect, and thought the boards were to serve that purpose. . . .

June 8. . . . Among the many calls we had this day, one came from an officer of the *Mississippi*, who sent me a message to come up to the upper temple yard on the top of our hill [site of the modern Shinto shrine]. . . . But how great was my surprise on coming up to the upper temple to find the side door . . . quite rammed in with boards, and the very entrance to the yard in the act of being boarded in . . . the officer in charge said he had peremptory orders, and if he did otherwise, the cattle would not be prevented from escaping, and the sheep would be in danger of breaking their necks in case they jumped down the rugged side of the hill. . . .

A while after the Commodore came on shore and honored us with a visit. He was even kind enough to give a box of Chinese toys to our children. . . . Then came out a bundle of calico for Mrs. B. which encouraged me to bring forward my grievance as to our being deprived of the enjoyment of the upper temple yard, which place I really never supposed would be used as a kind of stable.

The Commodore took this quite unfair of me, telling me I had premises spacious enough without the upper temple, and that he saw no reason why to allow me to occupy so much ground. He moreover thought, as I knew he only wished to civilize this nation, I should rather have been glad to see a new breed introduced, etc. I contended, the cattle could be reared quite as well and much better in another place, and that we used the upper temple as belonging to our establishment these seven years; that in time of bad weather this is the only place where my wife and children can take a walk . . . and finally, that we have there a flagstaff planted . . . and I could thus not give up so easily possession of a ground thus constituted.

Commodore Perry told me rather angrily, he did not like it, and soon rose from his chair as though he would leave immediately, but held on to send an officer with me to look at the place I considered preferable for the cattle. When this was disapproved, I was told we had no right to hoist a flag here, and that anyone might pull it down, and if, as I said, the flag staff served merely for signals when a ship arrived, I might as well plant it somewhere else. It was clear to me both the Commodore and his officers liked the enclosure on the False Capstan [on the old admiralty charts, this name applies to Nami-no-ue headland] as commanding a good view of the harbor and town, and looking somewhat like a fort. . . . I thought it best to drop the point and hastened to accompany the Commodore and his Lieutenant out in the street whither they wished to proceed for a walk.

Commodore looked into several poor workshops, inquiring after their wages, profits, etc. Seeing some To-fu (bean extract), Commodore took up a bit and threw down some money to the stall keeper, a move which must look very startling

to those Loochooans who knew of his rank, as Confucian foolish pride would forbid a much minor official stooping thus in public to make a purchase and much less to taste tofu at a stall.

On our back way, Ichirazichi came to say, the door of the upper temple would be required to be kept open, as they had therein gods which they wished to worship. (It is near seven years that no sort of worship whatever was carried on in either the lower or the upper temple). The Commodore said they had gods enough in other places. Ichirazichi said they'd rather make an enclosure inside the yard that the cattle could not escape. Commodore was ready to make an offer of the cattle to the mandarins for the improvement of the native breed. Ichirazichi would report. . . . In the evening, Mrs. B. told me that while I had been out, the Commodore called his own Chinese servant and sent him off with a large bundle. [This man] had repeatedly in broken English told us how much he sympathized with us, and that he would make effort to persuade the Commodore to send up a tailor to make up some clothing for our children, so that Mrs. B. should not have to work so hard. The Commodore had been so kind today as to give my wife and children each a present apart. We now concluded that my expression of dissatisfaction with the Commodore's disposing of our ground against our wish had produced this sudden change of sentiment in our benefactor.

June 9. Passed a sleepless night, and rose with the resolution to address a note to the Commodore, containing a respectful protest, and at the same time begging him to consider that by his permanently occupying part of our premises, the whole neighborhood, in which we have succeeded to establish unrestricted intercourse with the natives, will again be subjected to strict espionage to the great detriment of our Mission. However, upon further consideration, and talking the matter over with Mrs. B. we resolved to do nothing more in the matter. . . . We also had the probability that at the Commodore's return [*i.e.*, from the cruise to the Bonin Islands], in about a fortnight, the cattle would be disposed of in one way or another, and that such use may be made of the premises as not to exclude us from their use.

About 9 o'clock in the morning the *Susquehanna* and *Saratoga* left [on a cruise of exploration to the Bonin Islands].

June 10. As already mentioned the Commodore at his forelast [*sic*] visit at our house was kind enough to order two windows should be set in my study, and that a few pairs of shoes be found for me of the stores of the Squadron, and likewise that a shoemaker be sent us to make up shoes for our children, we having obtained . . . the material required. The shoemaker and carpenter arrived this day. Sent to the mandarins to let a native shoemaker or two, whom we had already taught a little of shoemaking and employed for our children, come and learn the craft more perfectly under a regular master. The request was totally refused. . . .<sup>5</sup>

June 23. . . . About 4 P.M. the *Susquehanna* and *Saratoga* hove in sight, and were soon at their anchors. . . . Waited on the Commodore. Found him all friendly and remarkably well looking. Commodore told me, in 5-6 days he was to be off to Yedo. On board the *Mississippi*, heard they were all under order to be ready for sea, *immediately*. I could not help thinking within myself how pleasant it is to have high connections, be it only for having correct information on matters. . . . Thus when I told my friends, who were almost taking leave of me, that there was no occasion for haste in the matter . . . they immediately quieted down . . . sure the order of the Commander, though given immediately on his arrival, was meant

<sup>5</sup> Worms have spoiled portions of the diary from the date June 22 onwards.

only to stimulate the squadron to be ready at a moment's notice, though that moment may still be distant some days.

June 24. . . . Commander Kelly comes on shore with order from the Commodore to arrange for a present of cattle to be given to the native authorities, to improve the breed of horned cattle on the island and introduce that of sheep. It was certainly a valuable present consisting of 3 [water-] Buffaloes (1 Bull, and 2 cows, one among these pregnant), Ditto 1 Bull and two cows, and 12 sheep, among which several were with young. I looked upon this somewhat like Jacob's droves sent before him to Esau [Gen. 32:13-20], though fortunately quite from other motives than his. . . . Commander Kelly [gave] me a hint that he should be glad to get rid of the smell of the cattle soonest possible. . . .

Commodore Perry honored me this evening with a visit, on which immediately some articles I had ordered several days ago, and which never made their appearance, went off; a full proof we are entirely under the hand of the spies and underlings.

June 25. . . . The Commodore kindly invited me to preach tomorrow on board the flagship, and told me he had sent his Chaplain, Mr. Bittinger to give me a formal invitation on his part. But on informing the Commodore of my engagement at the Plymouth<sup>6</sup> the matter dropped. "Next time," said the Commodore, giving me thereby at once a good hint that he meant soon to be back from Japan. Accompanied the Commodore, who had concerted a walk at Wi-Dumai [Japanese: Uedomari, "above Tomari" village], with purser Speiden who deservedly stands much in his favor. On our return to the residence of Messrs. Brown and Harper [in the Buddhist temple of Amiku village], we gave the telegraph a trial, and sent several messages to and fro the upper and lower temple, separated from each other about one hundred yard distance.

There was such a scarcity of boats on our return that I would have had difficulty in returning home had not the Commodore kindly invited me into his own boat and landed me while steering himself. This was a rare ride indeed.

June 26. Lordsday. Studied my sermon over from the text: "Thou has prepared a table before me in the presence of mine enemies."

Was received very friendly on board the Plymouth, but was given to understand—as is usual the case on men-of-war—that the service must be short, which induced me the more warmly to pray and preach to them. . . . Left immediately for the Susquehanna. . . .

June 27. . . . The Commodore having kindly left me the choice of three sheep, I had made up a bamboo enclosure for Mrs. Nelly, a Cape of Good Hope folk [*sic*], quite the pet of the Mississippi, her mate, and a China ewe with young.

Mr. Speiden comes with the following note from the Commodore:

DEAR SIR / I thank you for the meteorological tables which shall be returned

<sup>6</sup> This vessel, whose crew included some Hungarians, spent more time at Naha than any other unit of the squadron. Dr. Bernard F. Bettelheim of Spearfish, South Dakota, owns a large silver cup bearing the inscription:

To  
Dr. B. J. Bettelheim  
as a token of esteem  
from  
the Officers and Crew  
of the  
U. S. Ship, Plymouth  
December 1853



after some notes are taken from it. I also thank you for the reptiles' skins. I had been under the impression that reptiles, or rather, snakes, were unknown in the island. . . . I shall be glad to see you on board with the Regent tomorrow. Boats will be at the landing at Tumai [Tomari] at 3 o'clock P.M. . . .

M. C. PERRY

Mr. Speiden had beside a message to say I should mention what, or the amount I wished etc. for my trouble about the squadron, the Commodore being sure his government would incline richly to reward me. I said, I trust entirely in the Commodore's kind and generous feelings toward us, for which I am greatly obliged. Mr. Speiden had also in charge a bundle or two of calico, bed-tick, drill or twill, linen, flannel and I know not what, for which I should, according to ability, change in some native stuffs. I rather declined this offer, but Mr. S. told me the parcels were entirely at my disposal even without such condition.

Mr. Bittinger . . . was kind enough to accompany Mrs. B. and the children in a boat to Mr. Brown at Tumai, where we all were, by order of the Commodore, to be daguerrotyped. . . . Arrived at the back of our house just before a boat of the Mississippi overtook us with the following message:

SIR: / The pleasure of your company and family is this evening requested, to attend the theatrical performance of the "Dramatic Corps" of the Mississippi. The curtain will rise precisely at 8 o'clock.

Very respectfully

S. S. LEE / Commander. . . .

I never could have supposed anything of the sort could take place on board a ship, and thought rather of attending partly from regard for the Commander's express request, and mostly to let my children get an idea of a theatre in an innocent way, sure a similar performance once seen will give rise in them to a world of ideas. . . .

. . . Went on board the Mississippi where all the nobility [*i.e.*, Luchuan], was assembled, and officers, boatswains, sailors and negroes performed in a most remarkable way. The dancing and singing of the negroes pleased my children exceedingly. We left long before the performance was over. . . .

June 30 [page torn] Early in the morning . . . comes with a note from Commodore, we should specify . . . articles we stood in need of, and if to be had in the ship's stores . . . have them. This was very kind indeed. Wrote down a list. . . . After . . . young Speiden came with butter, sugar (American), tea, ribbon, combs, and I do not recollect what other articles in addition, amounting, I believe, to \$68 for which I thankfully signed receipts. . . .

NAPA, July 1, 1853,

Commodore M. C. Perry / U. S. Str. Susquehanna

SIR: Allow me humbly to express my gratitude for the stores and other articles you were kind enough to send us yesterday. If your intention was to stimulate my devotion to your cause, you have failed, for my delight in, and, so to say, instinctive attachment to any effort for widening the sway of civilization are scarcely capable of increase. There is only one chance more of augmenting my lively interest in your great undertaking and that is, the news that the great western flag is hoisted in Japan, and I pray the Ruler of the History of the Universe may soon grant this consummation of the ardent wish of all Christendom.



But if it may give you pleasure to hear that one more humble individual feels attached to you among the many, which I am persuaded your generous heart has gained and claimed, I am glad to be able to give you this pleasure in its fullest measure. Myself and wife and children all love you, feel much obliged and grateful to you, and daily pray for you.

Please accept these humble effusions of my sincere gratitude and believe me ever  
My dear Sir / With profoundest respects / Your most humble

B. J. BETTELHEIM.

July 2. The Squadron (with exception of the Supply) got under weigh [*sic*] about 6 in the morning, the steamers soon taking each a ship in tow, a sight which must be very novel for the Loochooans.

## II. LAST ANCHORAGE AT NAHA, JULY 1-17, 1854

July 1. . . . We are truly glad that the Powhatan and Mississippi, both steamers, are again at anchor in our roads since 10 o'clock this forenoon. . . .

On the eve of the successful return of the American expedition from Japan, Dr. Bettelheim was living with the Reverend G. H. Moreton, his wife, and young son Philip. The missionary sent to be his successor had arrived in February on a British coolie ship bound for California. Five months before, Mrs. Bettelheim and the three children had sailed for Shanghai. Two master's mates and a detachment of seamen had been left by the commodore to guard a United States coal depot established in August, 1853, in Tomari Village. The contingent was under the volunteered medical and spiritual care of the doctor. He was energetically teaching Mr. Moreton to speak Luchuan and introducing him to the friendlier natives. It was over twelve months since the diarist first met the commodore, so, at this period, he has less to tell us about Perry.

. . . Saw the Commodore. He kindly told us what he thought we might know of his transactions. Sumode [Shimoda] and Hakodari [Hakodate] were the two ports opened, the latter, I heard afterwards, to be opened a year after the ratification of the treaty. What I am more surprized at is that the whole squadron has had to subsist on salt provisions all the while they were in Japan. Capt. McCluney (of the Powhatan) told us they had symptoms of scorbutic breaking out among his crew, though fortunately it did not actually break out. However we must not expect Japan would yield on mere provisions. *They'll take care to speak smoothly, but by her works she will be known as a malicious power for generations to come, unless she be subjected by power to obey the dictates of humanity.* We saw several drawings and landscapes striking the eye by novelty, not less than by execution of the accomplished artists who accompanied the Commodore. *Art and science may perhaps have gained more than commerce, diplomacy, and religion from this expedition* [italics mine—W.L.S.]. . . .

July 2. Lordsday. Read prayers and preached on board the Lexington. The Lord being with us enjoyed the service very much, and hope the hearers' marked attention showed their own profiting. . . . Capt. McCluney was kind enough to

invite me to take my passage to Hongkong in his cabin and the wardroom of-ficers offered me likewise room with them. . . .

Was signalized for under the "all chaplains" flag phrase to repair to the Mississippi, where we all had been invited to dinner with the Commodore, where I met also Mr. and Mrs. Moreton with little Philip. We were regaled in addition with excellent musick, the Piccolonist, Lucian Conterno, who plays besides two other instruments, being—and deservedly—a great favorite with the Commodore. I saw the boy after dinner. He is of Italian extraction and was brought up at Paris. Was glad to hear he has and reads a French Old Testament and an Italian Gospel. The Commodore approved of my taking passage in the Powhatan. . . .

July 4. Saw this morning some festival appearance of the ships, but seeing the Regent steering thither in his miserable bark, I thought the two stood in connexion. Long after, it struck me this was the day of the declaration of the United States' Independence. I had just been rowing in a native boat toward the Lexington to have there a [missionary] talk with my Chinamen, when it struck me that a festival day would not be the most suited for such purposes. Indeed at noon a salute was fired and I thought it becoming to go on the Commodore's ship and congratulate him, the same as I did on board the Powhatan and Lexington, where I had promised to dine.

July 9. Lord'sday. . . . I had to take upon me unexpectedly also the service of the Lexington where it was Moreton's turn to preach. This was my very first sermon *quite* extemporaneous from: "Let us labor to enter into that rest." (*Hebr.* IV-11.) I had scarcely done than a boat for me arrived from the Mississippi, (flag-ship) where I read prayers and preached from: "Blessed is he that cometh in the name of the Lord," but felt so exhausted that after service I had to lay down before returning home. . . .

July 11. . . . I could manage this morning in five hours with many interruptions to copy in Chinese the farewell epistle I intend for the mandarins. [*The editor's father, the late Henry B. Schwartz, purchased the original from a native antiquary in Shuri. It is a mute witness to Dr. Bettelheim's mastery of the Chinese-Japanese style of composition. After ninety years, the English original and the Chinese autograph were brought together under a California roof.*] I did not intend to send it off today and in fact did not before the Commodore has entirely settled his business, or else a handle might be found to blame the missionary for disturbing diplomatic negotiations by bringing forward religion. I have therefore antedated it for Friday next, the 14th, when I hope to enter the document.

Mr. Brown the Daguerrotypist lives in our house and has taken today a sketch of the house [see F. L. Hawkes, *Narrative of the U. S. Expedition to Japan*, I, 161], and Mr. and Mrs. Moreton's and their boy's likeness with good results.

Somewhat before two o'clock p.m. we heard the bands striking up lively tunes, having disembarked in the junks' harbor and thus made the circuit from thence to the Kungkwang, or office, with the marines. Before resorting thither they bent their way out a lane opening toward the sea not far from our house, where, from our hill, we saw the Commodore disembark, received by his troops and thus accompanied to the office, where he had a meeting with both our first mandarins, lasting till after four. About five, Mr. Gay, the chief ingeneer [*sic*] of the Mississippi arrived with a message from the Commodore that the Regent having made him a present of one of the bells in my residence Mr. Gay was now despatched to take it off. I was greatly rejoiced at this news, and loudly expressed the comfort I felt at seeing a heathen temple breaking up now in real earnest. The Regent must

feel persuaded Buddhism, having lost its voice now 8-9 years in the "Country-protecting-temple" [Japanese: Gokokuji], he might yield its organs of speech to befriend a Christian power. The only grief I had was that the four English men-of-war we had here, had never hit on such an idea, but the best English rope I had, obtained from one of the ships, I made contribute to the safe lowering of our big bell, which is a very fine piece indeed and will figure high in Washington. [Perry hoped it could be hung in the Washington Monument but bequeathed it to the Naval Academy.] Mr. Gay also told me he has good hopes to get a nice god, which the Regent promised he would let him know today decidedly. "So let thy enemies perish, O Lord. Let their house be made desolate, and their Bishoprick let another take."

July 12. Saw the Commodore. He was kind enough to show me an English copy of the treaty made with Loochoo. He had wished it should be a treaty between this and all western nations, but the Loochooans objected and it was drawn only between them and the Americans. I firmly believe under God the case of Board<sup>7</sup> being slain contributed to increase the Commodore's power over the native authorities. He insisted, I was told, to have either the manslayer or to take off the Regent himself on board his ship. Of course the man was delivered up, and restored again to the native authorities to judge him according to their own laws. This also had good effect. But most of all that the Commodore leaves no man behind, and that he would have left, in case the mandarins did not accept his terms. Here was the chief lever to bend with the Loochooans. England, I greatly fear, will not get out any concession without the missionary being withdrawn.

The articles are: good treatment to all Americans arriving, no spies, no government interference in their purchases of the people, a pilot to be sent out to any American ship desirous of coming in. Five Dollars pilotage for guiding it in and again Five Dollars for guiding it out. For so many gallons of water, a certain price, and likewise a price fixed for a certain quantity of wood; these are the chief points I remember.

Commodore told me to be on board the Powhatan on the Friday, and to be the evening of that day on board his flagship with the Moretons, when an entertainment will be given to the Regent and all the Puchingkwans [treasurers]. . . .

. . . While at dinner Ichirazichi and a crowd of Samure's [Japanese: samurai] arrived with presents for me from the Regent; Puching-tafu; Mayor of Naha; and what Ichirazichi presented me from himself, all consisting of fans, pipes, paper, and some lackerware, valued at 10 Dollars. This certainly looks nice.

July 14. Am on board as much busy with provision ticket translating as on shore. In fact the purveyors cannot help themselves nor can I. . . . About 6 P.M. joined, according to invitation the party at the Mississippi where I found already assembled the mandarins and others. Served the whole evening as interpreter on the one side of the Commodore while Dr. Williams occupied the other. It was a delicate task for me to steer clear of Dr. W.'s envious scruples. Once it happened the Commodore had already given me a message for the Regent, that Mr. W. loudly complained, saying I should interpret it to the Pu-ching-Kwan while he, through Ichirazichi, would interpret it to the Regent. Thus while endeavoring to do my best, and for no reward, I have even to put up with insults, situations the repetition of which appear to indicate it is the will of Providence I should lead a

<sup>7</sup> A seaman from the coal depot mobbed under great provocation in Naha, on June 19, when the authorities tried to conceal the cause of his death. It may be added that Admiral N. F. Guérin negotiated a treaty for France in 1855, which, like Perry's, was never ratified by the home government.

laborious life and reap sparing fruit—upon the whole however I enjoyed the party [Ethiopian minstrels], very well, and some of the officers even expressed towards me feelings of kindness and respect.

The Commodore told me we are to go Monday morning. . . .

July 16. Lord'sday. Preached on board the Powhatan, and felt greatly refreshed. Several of the officers thanked me for the sermon, and there was indeed deathlike silence during the whole of the discourse.

We are under orders to sail tomorrow. No intercourse with shore any more permitted. Went on board the Mississippi to take leave of Commodore. Saw there the Moretons. . . . I dismissed him with good wishes and prayers. His wife squeezed my hand twice so warmly, and looked into my face so uprightly that I will believe . . . she was sincere and felt grateful for what I had done for them. I also dismissed their little Philip with kisses and caresses. [This is the final entry in the journal.]

The Reverend Earl R. Bull, Professor Payson J. Treat, and my father were successful in finding clues which discovered descendants of the missionary in the United States.<sup>8</sup> Mr. Arthur E. Bettelheim stated in the twenties:

After remaining in Loochoo nine years, he [the missionary] decided to return to England, intending to leave his children to complete their education. However, the ship encountered many storms, was driven out of its course, and finally was so badly damaged that it put in at Bermuda for necessary repairs. As this would take several months, Dr. Bettelheim decided to visit the United States while waiting.

He was pleased with this country and decided to educate his children here rather than in England. After a few years in New York, he located his family on a farm near Pontiac, Illinois. He, himself, spent most of his time on lecture tours for the double purpose of supporting his family and assisting in getting his translations published, the Naval Mission having decided to discontinue its mission at Loochoo [in 1855].

Professor Treat discovered that, as a resident of Cayuga, Illinois, Bettelheim enlisted at Helena, Arkansas, as surgeon of the 106th Regiment, Illinois Volunteer Infantry, and served from August 16 to December 28, 1863.

After the war, he moved to Brookfield, Missouri, to establish his eldest son, Bernard James Gutzlaff Bettelheim, in business. Here he died on February 9, 1870, aged fifty-nine years. The missionary's wife died on April 24, 1872.

<sup>8</sup> Edward M. Barrows' book, *The Great Commodore: The Exploits of Matthew Calbraith Perry* (Indianapolis, 1935), contains a good many mistakes in its account of happenings in Ryukyu. Thus, on page 340, Barrows says: "At the request of the Liu Chiu [sic] authorities, he [Perry], arranged for Bettelheim's replacement by the Reverend Doctor Moreton, who was already acquainted with the Liu Chius." He dismissed Dr. Bettelheim with the phrase: "Nothing more was heard of him."

# \* \* \* \* *Reviews of Books* \* \* \* \*

## General History

MAINSPRINGS OF CIVILIZATION. By *Ellsworth Huntington*, Yale University. (New York: John Wiley and Sons. 1945. Pp. xii, 660. \$4.75.)

HERE is a more comprehensive challenge to historians than Ellsworth Huntington has previously offered. Brought together conveniently in one volume are all the results that are to him significant in a lifetime's prolific work, including some material hitherto unpublished. Two major themes are developed: the role of biological inheritance and the role of physical environment in influencing history. Although both subjects have scholarly traditions behind them (the theory of the physiographic and climatic influences on history having a particularly distinguished past), there is no denying the originality of many of Mr. Huntington's hypotheses and the fertility of his imagination. He supports his ideas with a prodigious wealth of scientific paraphernalia especially in the form of statistical data. He writes temperately, without polemics, and with a characteristically ingratiating style.

The book is divided into three sections. Part I treats briefly the assertion of "the basic evolutionary urge which is the supreme fact of history." Parts II and III elaborate the two themes concerning heredity and physical environment. Dismissing the racial myths, Mr. Huntington nevertheless affirms in Part II the transmission of mental traits by biological inheritance. He regards migration, nomadism, and religion as such highly selective processes in some instances as to result in the creation of distinctive endogamous groups designated as "kiths." He does not look upon the New England Puritans, Icelanders, Jews, Parsees, Quakers, Junkers, Hakkas of China, and others as merely cultural phenomena but in effect describes them as historic experiments in eugenics.

On the subject of man's sensitivity to physical environment the versatility of Mr. Huntington's inquiring mind becomes fully apparent. With many variations on the theme, he analyses the way in which climate, diet, and density of population have effects on health, mental activity, religion, and general social development. He finds a definite zone of highest climatic efficiency for the world today, but points to varying optima for different stages of civilization. The mentally enlivening effects of cyclonic storms and other climatic phenomena are brought together in an "electrothermal cycle theory" in which atmospheric ozone is associated with animal reproduction, heart disease, and the use of libraries; while atmospheric electricity accompanying weather cycles is linked with fluctuations of pig iron production and the stock exchange. More ambitious hypotheses relate cyclonic storms with the fourteenth century Renaissance, a combination of selec-

tive migration and favorable weather conditions with the great age of Greece, and climatic factors with the early outburst of Irish culture.

Much in Mr. Huntington's book, especially regarding climatic efficiency and diet, is fairly well established. Historians may not be as alive as he would wish to the way in which changes in climate have blighted cities and degraded civilizations, but, where the evidence is clear, they have in many well-known instances recognized the importance of climatic variations. Historians will observe that Mr. Huntington's theories are not narrow, embracing as they do the influence of both environment and heredity, that his book teems with such qualifying words as "probably," "appears to be," "seems to be suggested," and that he never claims exclusive jurisdiction for his forces. The place he gives, however, to the political, social, economic, and ideological forces which are the usual preoccupation of historians is by implication relatively insignificant as far as the main surges of history are concerned. He does admit, in addition to the evolutionary urge and the two factors of heredity and physical environment, one other contributing influence which he calls "cultural endowment." This term is probably intended to be comprehensive but it is never adequately described.

Mr. Huntington has apparently learned to expect skepticism about some of his more novel speculations and demonstrations. He will get it. Granting the reliability of his statistical data (and in some instances information is admittedly spotty or uncertain), has he really established a necessary causal connection between natural and social phenomena when they seem to parallel each other? In many instances the scientific exactitude or the inevitability of Mr. Huntington's conclusions may be called in question.

Whether Mr. Huntington's hypotheses are verified, modified, or discarded, he has mapped out extensive fields for inquiry. He can be sure, too (and he may be tired of hearing it), that he is provocative.

*University of Rochester*

WILLSON H. COATES

THE ENGLISH PEOPLE: IMPRESSIONS AND OBSERVATIONS. By D. W. Brogan. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 1943. Pp. xiv, 295, xi. \$3.00.)

ONE could fill a large shelf with books about the character of the English, many of them in old bindings. It is strange how few of them have been written by historians. Scientists, economists, clergymen, men of letters and of public position have tried interpreting the English to other people, but seldom historians.

Probably the book best known to Americans is that by Price Collier, written about a generation ago. Away back in the 1820's the American scientist Benjamin Silliman wrote two interesting volumes about his visit to Britain. Washington Irving saw England romantically as the old home; James Fenimore Cooper showed more perceptive understanding of English social life. Richard Grant White published in 1881 *England Within and Without*, a book still worth running through.



William Dean Howells in two volumes published in 1905 and in 1906 looked at the English with curious American eyes. I remember reading those two books at the same time that I read Henry James's *English Hours* and thinking how much less Howells was carried away than James by the English magic.

The French have written about the English for almost three centuries, beginning in the reign of Charles II. In the eighteenth century there were several books; that by the Abbé Le Blanc seems to me more penetrating than the more famous work by Voltaire. In the mid-nineteenth century there was a surfeit of French works about England, many of them ill-natured. The French were jealous of English success. But Montalembert in his *De l'avenir politique de l'Angleterre* had much to say worth thinking about and De Tocqueville in occasional comments showed profound understanding. Taine was hard on the English, but he did know a great deal about them. Later Chevrillon, Boutmy Bardoux, and Cazamian have given brilliant and wise analyses of the English.

The Germans have done much less. But Wendeborn, who was for twenty years pastor of a German church in London, published in Germany in 1785 a book of remarkable discernment, and Goede's three volumes translated and published in London in 1821 showed great knowledge. In recent time Dibelius, who had never been in England, studied the country with Teutonic thoroughness and gave us one of the best of all books on England written by a foreigner.

English books on the English are too many to mention but I will venture to name Nevinson's as one of the best, and to call attention to Hugh Miller's (a Scot's) *First Impressions of England* (1846).

The reader will observe that none of these names is that of a historian save that of Montalembert. That is why the book by Brogan, who was a historian before he slipped down into political science, is welcome. Brogan is one of the most brilliant of the younger academics in England, a man who insists that his Scottish-Irish ancestry makes him capable of dispassionate consideration of the English. These chapters were obviously written in a hurry when he and Englishmen of his highly competent type were busy at compelling war work and could give little time to perfecting their books. There are ill-made paragraphs and many sentences that are too long and too packed with various ideas. Mr. Brogan writes for the American public, and he was fitted to do that by his knowledge of American life and politics; he is never unwilling to expose his familiarity with out-of-the-way aspects of American folkways and language. He writes less about the English character *in esse* than about English ways of carrying on and of performing various functions. Brogan is a relativist in politics; he insists upon judging political action by the possible and distrusts those who demand perfect solutions. He would call himself a realist. In that respect he is less a Scot and certainly less an Irishman than an Englishman.

His book is full of ideas, his own ideas. Brogan says that he has borrowed heavily from Renier's *The English. Are They Human?* (a book that deserves to



be better known in this country), but those borrowings appear only in his chapter on education. His comparisons with the U. S. A. and with France are worth the attention of every student.

In no country, says Brogan, is class-consciousness (in the social, not the Marxian sense) so widely spread. England is an inegalitarian society. It is a country where inequality is cherished, a country where snobbishness is the rival religion to Christianity. The educational system, he declares, "fosters native snobbery." He says that the English attitude, even when most "democratic," sees in democracy a selective rather than an equalizing force. He is right. The English wish to draw talent from every class—and nowadays they succeed in doing it—in order to use that talent in government and in the professions, but they wish to make over those men whom they draw from every class into gentlemen. I have heard men, themselves of simple backgrounds, insist on the importance of making young men of ability over into gentlemen.

Some of his comments deserve to be remembered:

Change anything except the appearance of things is the favorite English political method.

The rise of Silas Lapham, or at any rate of his family, would have been much faster in London or the home counties than in Boston. [He might have added, or in Scotland.]

In no country are failures let down more easily or are the victims of incompetence or misguided ambition less rancorous.

A good deal of English life is in fact a race run under wraps.

Politically England is a democracy, perhaps the most mature democracy in the world. But democracy is not merely a matter of government, it is an attitude of life. And England will not be a full, or anything like a full democracy as long as one of the kindest and most united of peoples in the world are internally divided in a fashion that so impoverishes the nation's life.

Brogan is a historian but he does not consider the character of the English as it may have been affected by their experience. Few men have done so. Yet a nation's history must have affected its character, and its character must have affected the history. He is wrong in making Balfour one of the diehards of 1911.

This book is so good that it deserves to be rewritten in a time of leisure.

*Yale University*

WALLACE NOTESTEIN

ADMIRAL DE GRASSE AND AMERICAN INDEPENDENCE. By *Charles Lee Lewis*, Professor, United States Naval Academy. (Annapolis: United States Naval Institute. 1945. Pp. xviii, 404. \$3.00.)

THE importance of French sea power in the American Revolution has been increasingly recognized since the days of Mahan, and the name of De Grasse has been increasingly honored. He did more than any other seaman (except, perhaps, one or two British admirals) to bring victory to the American cause. An English

life of him was therefore long overdue, and Professor Lewis' work will be welcome to all students of the period.

A biography such as this can be measured by reasonably definite standards. One is the writer's knowledge of his field. Professor Lewis, as might be expected, is thoroughly at home in the strategy and tactics of the period, and makes them intelligible and interesting to the reader. He is equally at home in the secondary works, the printed sources, and a few collections of manuscripts. His impressive bibliography seems to be less a catalogue of what he has used than an attempt to list all the manuscript and printed material, with no distinction between the valuable, the questionable, and the worthless. But he himself has obviously relied on the first category. Most of the few errors which appear seem to be the results of poor proofreading, and there are only two minor misstatements of fact: the wrong commander for a French detachment from Newport in February of 1781 (p. 128), and the wrong reason why Graves retained command of the British fleet after his successor arrived (pp. 193-94). These details do not reflect on the author's mastery of his subject.

A second standard is organization. Professor Lewis has wisely compressed De Grasse's career before the Revolution into some fifty pages and devoted almost half the book to the climactic year 1781-82; he has thereby justified his title while writing a complete biography. He is less successful, however, in setting the man against the background of his times. The background frequently obtrudes, while the man disappears. This may be necessary in discussing the genesis of the Yorktown campaign, in which De Grasse played a decisive role. It is less so in discussing the peace negotiations, which are given far more space than his part in them justifies.

A third standard is the biographer's objectivity. Anything touching the French in America is still likely to elicit more sentimentality than sobriety, as witness Bonsal's *When the French Were Here*. Professor Lewis avoids this danger; he is less sentimental than Mahan. He also avoids the temptation to make his subject a hero, but for this he pays a price. De Grasse not only fails to emerge as a hero; he fails to emerge. The blame is as much his as the author's. The admiral lacked the charm of Lafayette or even Rochambeau, and his character was toneless beside the chiaroscuro of his adversary, Rodney. But he was a man, and it is disappointing that the account of what he did reveals so little of what he was.

This involves a fourth standard, the biographer's critical capacity. Professor Lewis' aversion to passing judgment is one of the reasons why De Grasse does not come to life, and is the principal weakness of the book. The author's views appear rarely and briefly; the lengthy opinions are those of others, from Hood and Rodney to Lacour-Gayet and Corbett. This is particularly unfortunate because the two high moments of the book are the Battle of the Capes and the Battle of the Saints, two of the most controversial engagements of the century. The conclusions of Professor Lewis on both would have been welcome; those of other authorities are

interesting but scarcely novel. If he had committed himself, he would doubtless have revealed more fully his opinion of De Grasse.

Where he does commit himself, particularly about the British admirals, his judgments are sometimes questionable. Hood is blamed for "overeagerness" in joining Graves at New York (p. 155), although he was only carrying out Rodney's orders. Graves is said to have been "unduly" criticized for his conduct of the campaign (p. 165); it might equally well be maintained that no criticism could be harsh enough. Rodney is excused for not pursuing the French after the Battle of the Saints, on the ground that his fleet was too badly crippled (p. 250); this ignores Mahan's cogent argument to the contrary. Such controversial statements should either be omitted or explained.

The book is marred by other minor flaws. The frequent translations of French are awkward and sometimes misleading. There is considerable repetition, in one case of an eleven-line quotation. Some statements in footnotes are either unsubstantiated or not borne out by the citations. But these flaws in sum are irritating rather than significant.

The book fills an obvious gap. If it does not fill it to perfection, it is far superior to the works hitherto available, such as Scott's *De Grasse à Yorktown*. At the same time it is inferior to Gottschalk's monumental study of Lafayette, although De Grasse deserves as much attention as his compatriot. In time he may receive it; meanwhile this biography will stand as the best account of his services.

University of Michigan

WILLIAM B. WILLCOX

CONSIDERATIONS SUR LA CONDUITE DU GOUVERNEMENT AMERICAIN ENVERS LA FRANCE, DEPUIS LE COMMENCEMENT DE LA REVOLUTION JUSQU'EN 1797. Par *Louis-Guillaume Otto*. Avec une Introduction par *Gilbert Chinard*. [Petite Bibliothèque Américaine, Institut Français de Washington.] (Princeton: Princeton University Press for Institut Français de Washington. 1945. Pp. 33. 50 cents.)

THE Institut Français has acquired twenty-one documents in the handwriting of Louis-Guillaume Otto, later Comte de Mosloy, who was secretary of the French legation, later counselor, ultimately chargé d'affaires in the United States, from 1779 to 1792. A singularly penetrating student of American affairs, his observations on American domestic politics and foreign policy during the period of the Revolution, the Confederation, and the administration of President Washington, constitute source material of the greatest importance. Of these documents Professor Chinard here prints, for the first time, Otto's analysis of France's policy toward the United States from 1792 until 1797.

The value of this well-known document is twofold: (1) It presents the best existing contemporary analysis of the crystallization of American politics into the Federalist and Republican parties. (2) It is a withering dissection of the mis-

understanding and ineptitudes of French foreign policy toward the United States. Otto's criticism had much to do with correcting Talleyrand's mischievous American policy toward a reconciliation with the erstwhile ally, lest that republic be driven into the arms of Great Britain. Therefore the *Considérations* are a key document in the diplomatic history of the United States, and also of the French Republic. Some of the deletions are particularly revealing, such as the statement concerning Adet's mission in 1795-96: "*Je crois qu'il fut chargé de travailler à l'élection d'un autre Président que le Gal. Washington.*"

Professor Chinard states in his introduction: "The author of these notes and these reports is rather badly known and does not seem to have received the attention he merits." After indicating that Frédéric Masson makes some small mention of him, as well as Ethel Armes in her biography of Nancy Shippen, he reminds us that Turner in his edition of the *Correspondence of the French Ministers to the United States, 1791-1797*, dismisses him with a mere note, saying, "He seems to have given him advice on American conditions." The editor overlooks the fact that since Turner's publication at least three important studies have given much attention to Otto's *Considérations*: James A. James, in this *Review* (XXX, 45), E. Wilson Lyon, also in this *Review* (XLIII, 519), and A. B. Darling, in *Our Rising Empire* (New Haven, 1940; p. 296). The final text of the document is in the archives of the French Ministry of Foreign Affairs, *Etats-Unis*, Volume 47, ff. 401-18. A photocopy has been available in the Library of Congress since 1929.

Professor Chinard has done a useful service in editing this draft. The Institut Français is to be thanked for printing it. One hopes that it will also print, under the editorship of this accomplished scholar, the other twenty documents which have been acquired. It would be useful to have notes indicating how many of them are to be found in the French Archives, and whether photostats exist in the Library of Congress.

*Yale University*

SAMUEL FLAGG BEMIS

THE FIRST AMERICANS IN NORTH AFRICA: WILLIAM EATON'S STRUGGLE FOR A VIGOROUS POLICY AGAINST THE BARBARY PIRATES, 1799-1805. By *Louis B. Wright* and *Julia H. Macleod*. (Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1945. Pp. vii, 227. \$3.00.)

It was perhaps to be expected that with the attention of millions of Americans focused on military and naval operations throughout the Mediterranean during World War II, some new historical monograph on our early conflicts with the Barbary powers would soon appear. Now, with the publication of *The First Americans in North Africa*, that expectation has been very agreeably fulfilled.

In this volume of modest proportions the co-authors have primarily sought "to give a succinct account of American relations with the pirate rulers of North Africa as seen through the eyes of one of the most active participants": doughty

"General" William Eaton, one-time consul at Tunis and later a naval agent of the United States in the Mediterranean area. Brief characterizations of numerous prominent and obscure Americans appear in this concise, yet lively, account; but the central figure is Eaton—a large collection of whose papers in the Huntington Library has been "the basis of the present book."

The story of Eaton's more dramatic activities in Africa has frequently been told. In no monograph, however, has it been so engagingly narrated as in *The First Americans in North Africa*. Furthermore, although the co-authors of this volume have given prime attention to Eaton's movements, plans, and exploits, they have presented these with effective regard to broad perspective in the international field. They have constantly kept before the reader, too, the futility of the policy of appeasement which the United States, in company with practically all other maritime nations, so long pursued in dealing with the piratical rulers. In these pages John Adams and Congress have been taken severely to task—particularly for the "peace establishment" legislation of March, 1801, by the terms of which the Navy was "practically destroyed." Jefferson, whose weak naval policy has so often been the target of invective and ridicule, is herein stoutly defended. He, as well as William Eaton, is presented as a persistent advocate of force, "vigorously and intelligently applied," in resisting a system of piracy which had endured for centuries.

The format of this book is attractive; its documentation of text, adequate and unobtrusive; and its index, excellent. A number of well-selected illustrations, including a map of the Mediterranean and a chart which sets forth the day-by-day progress of Eaton's "army" from Alexandria to Derna, add materially to the volume's usefulness and charm.

New York University

RAY W. IRWIN

THE LAND DIVIDED: A HISTORY OF THE PANAMA CANAL AND OTHER ISTHMIAN CANAL PROJECTS. By *Gerstle Mack*. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 1944. Pp. xv, 650, xxxiv. \$6.00.)

OVER the last four centuries there has accumulated a vast literature relating to scores of projects for linking the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans in the American tropics. The greater part of this material, in the form of technical reports, travelers' accounts, prospectuses, legislative debates, diplomatic correspondence, court records, and historical treatises, is focused sharply on specific enterprises or specialized aspects of the canal problem. Mr. Mack has undertaken, in the volume under review, to combine these numerous and varied sources into a history of all inter-oceanic canal projects in the Western Hemisphere from the discovery of America to the present day. The result is a work of unparalleled comprehensiveness in this field, based upon extensive research, and presented in a well-organized and exceptionally readable form.

The subject matter is divided into four appropriate and more or less chronologically consecutive sections, dealing respectively with the Spanish period, the nineteenth century investigation of the routes, the rise and fall of De Lesseps' Panama enterprise, and the American era. While the author's standard of performance remains high throughout, his particular contribution to canal history is to be found, in this reviewer's opinion, in the many excellent chapters of the second and third sections.

The unifying theme of the second section, entitled "The Battle of the Routes," is drawn from Alexander von Humboldt's insistence on the vital necessity for thorough and exact measurements of *all* promising canal routes, preferably by a single corps of investigators, before beginning actual construction along any of them. For forty years, Humboldt's suggested routes were widely discussed and occasionally probed, but his emphasis upon accurate surveys and systematic comparisons went unheeded, with consequences that were often fantastic and sometimes tragic. In mid-century, the conscientious surveys of American engineers provided the basic data for later investigations of the Nicaragua, Panama, Atrato, and Tehuantepec routes, but it was not until the 1870's, when co-ordinated expeditions were dispatched to the isthmus by the United States Navy Department, that Humboldt's recommendations were finally put into practice. This section contains a wealth of material on these and other, less fruitful, expeditions, as well as interesting chapters on the isthmian aspects of the gold rush and the building of the Panama Railroad. Included also are the best existing summary accounts of the Tehuantepec, Atrato, Darién, San Blas, and Chiriquí projects.

It is in his treatment of "The French Era," however, that Mr. Mack makes his most distinctive contribution. With consummate skill, he has sifted the mass of factual detail and contradictory evidence relating to the operations of the *Compagnie universelle* and has produced a lucid and objective narrative account of that ill-fated enterprise from the negotiation of the original Wyse Concession to the organization of the New Company. The chapters on the preparation and financing of the project are particularly valuable.

In the final section, the author takes up successively the conflict between the advocates of the Panama and the Nicaragua routes in the United States, the negotiations with Colombia, the Panama Revolution, the problems connected with the work of construction, the tolls controversy, and recent developments on the isthmus.

As is perhaps inevitable in a work of such broad scope and intricate texture, errors of fact occasionally intrude. The obligations undertaken by the United States under the terms of the treaty of 1846 included the preservation of the neutrality of, and New Granada's sovereignty over, the entire province of Panama, not "the actual transit only" (p. 184). This is made clear not only in the treaty text, but in President Polk's explanatory message to the Senate (Richardson, IV, 513). Likewise, the statement that "the original treaty of 1846 remained in force

until 1903" (p. 167) implies that it was terminated at the time of the Panama Revolution. The treaty is, strangely enough, still in effect. On page 214 appears the puzzling statement that the Nicaragua Canal bill of 1883 "failed to receive the two-thirds vote required for passage." The Miller bill was not a treaty and the action referred to took place in the House. Unfortunately, in dealing with the Walker Commission's report of 1901, the author repeats the familiar error that the New Company "had finally offered to sell for \$109,141,500" (p. 426). The correspondence between Walker and Hutin makes it clear that the company's holdings were valued at this figure, not as an offer of sale, but simply for the information of the commission. On December 7, 1901, Minister Martínez Silva of Colombia wrote Secretary of State Hay that this sum was intended to be no more than a basis for discussion and "is very far from being the value that may be definitely fixed" (State Department, Notes, Colombia, X). Finally, Tomás Herrán never returned to Bogotá (p. 473), but died at Liberty, New York, on August 31, 1904.

These small points do not detract seriously, however, from the superior merit of Mr. Mack's volume. The numerous clear diagrams by the author and the exhaustive bibliography are noteworthy features of the book.

*Columbia University*

DWIGHT C. MINER

NORTH ATLANTIC TRIANGLE: THE INTERPLAY OF CANADA, THE UNITED STATES, AND GREAT BRITAIN. By *John Bartlet Brebner*. (New Haven: Yale University Press. 1945. Pp. xxii, 385. \$4.00.)

IN 1931, at a meeting in Ottawa, Professor Brebner was instrumental in launching a co-operative historical enterprise which contemplated the publication of a twenty-five volume series on "The Relations of Canada and the United States." Ably guided by Dr. James T. Shotwell, and generously supported by the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, this undertaking now reaches a fitting climax in this synthesis, by Professor Brebner, of the major attractions and repulsions which for centuries characterized the relations of the United States and Canada with Great Britain. This volume is not a summary of the preceding volumes, though its author relies heavily on their contents; and it is not a history of Canada, nor of all the interrelations between the United States and Canada, though it contains an amazing amount of North American history. It is an exposition of the main factors in the development of the "Siamese Twins of North America," who cannot live without each other, and who, try as hard as they may, cannot extricate themselves from their relationship with Great Britain.

This volume abundantly illustrates how political maps cannot supersede the facts of geography. It treats the settlement and development of North America more or less as a unit, and seeks to show what Canada and the United States have in common, where they complement each other, and where they are in competition.



Though these interrelationships were significant since colonial times, it was the industrialization of Great Britain, financial imperialism, and the interlocking of the industry and trade of these three nations, that proved most effective in developing the present "North American Triangle." Professor Brebner has much to say about politics and diplomacy, about annexation, confederation and autonomy, and Anglo-American understanding, which must be the basic objective of Canadian foreign policy, but he frequently diverges from high politics to describe the life of the North Americans as they streamed inward in a great immigration that paid little attention to artificial boundaries, and these chapters, dealing with fur traders, lumbermen, farmers, cattlemen, and miners, with canals and railroads, and with the westward movement in general, are among the best in the book. After the co-operative effort of 1918, North America sank again into isolationism, only to have Washington, D. C., become the operating capital of the "Triangle" and the English-speaking world, in the new crisis of 1940. On the face of things, Canadian and American life seem much the same. Yet, in spite of increasingly close co-operation between the two nations, there remains an "orthodox anti-American Canadianism," which is due not only to the French Canadian's constant reiteration of "*je suis canadien*," but also to English-speaking Canadians who continue to need Great Britain psychologically in order to bolster their sense of separateness from the United States, and therefore emphasize a "real or imaginary Britoness."

This volume is a masterpiece of interpretation and synthesis. It reveals a remarkable grasp of the details of the history of three nations. Its emphases are correct, and the author has written in a spirit of tolerance and understanding, and with a modesty that realizes that not all the conclusions drawn from the present maelstrom can be expected to be completely valid twenty-five years after the war. The maps and bibliography are excellent. The book should be required reading in Canada and the United States.

*Oberlin College*

CARL WITTKÉ

AMERICA'S FAR EASTERN POLICY. By *T. A. Bisson*, Research Associate, Institute of Pacific Relations. [I.P.R. Inquiry Series.] (New York: International Secretariat, Institute of Pacific Relations; distributed by Macmillan Company. 1945. Pp. xiii, 235. \$3.00.)

THIS is a survey of our diplomatic relations with the Far East, done in 161 pages, with 66 pages of appended documents for the period since 1937. Nineteenth century roots are dismissed in a few lines, and the events to 1921 are telescoped into some 20 pages, with inevitable oversimplification. The bulk of the book is concentrated on Japan's activities since 1937, though a chapter on the Philippines is inserted. The material is presented with reasonable accuracy and with commendable objectivity. Interpretation is reduced to the bone, except in the preview chapters and in the final summation, where Mr. Bisson ventures into prophecy.

There is little that is novel or arresting, either in fact, interpretation, or manner of presentation; indeed the author, though a practitioner of high-class journalism, tends to play down rather than play up sensational developments like the Immigration Act of 1924.

Where the period is so recent and the space so limited Mr. Bisson can in places do little more than string together the newspaper headlines. In the absence of the essential private papers, he has had to rely mainly on ephemeral magazine accounts, on the daily press, and on the official releases of the governments concerned, which means that he could do little with behind-the-scenes motivation. He could have done much more had he made proper use of *Papers Relating to the Foreign Relations of the United States: Japan, 1931-1941* (Washington, 1943), which came out well in advance of his publication date.

Within the limits indicated, the book is a compact and generally sound summation. The author has the happy faculty of seeing diplomatic developments in the large—the whole far eastern theater, the impact of developments in Europe, the influence of American public opinion. The dangers of our penny ante policy—of undertaking commitments which we were unwilling or unable to cover—are abundantly exposed. In the final chapter, the author sharply and not unconvincingly challenges those who would retain the emperor as a prop for the reconstruction of Japan. He believes that the new China will be strong enough to guard her own Open Door without the traditional chaperonage of outside powers. The reader may infer from this that if, thanks to Hitler and Hirohito, the unilateral Monroe Doctrine has become multilateral, it is no less true that the multilateral Open Door is becoming unilateral—that is, if things work out as Mr. Bisson anticipates.

Stanford University

THOMAS A. BAILEY

WOODROW WILSON AND THE GREAT BETRAYAL. By *Thomas A. Bailey*. (New York: Macmillan Company. 1945. Pp. xii, 429. \$3.50.)

THE KILLING OF THE PEACE. By *Alan Cranston*. (New York: Viking Press. 1945. Pp. xii, 304. \$2.50.)

THESE two books share the common purpose of throwing further light on the incidents connected with, and the causes of, our failure to ratify the Treaty of Versailles at the conclusion of World War I.

Professor Bailey's book is the sequel to *Woodrow Wilson and the Lost Peace*, and continues the narrative from the time of Wilson's departure from France on June 29, 1919. Like the companion volume, *Woodrow Wilson and the Great Betrayal* is essentially a synthesis and interpretation of facts already largely known. He does, however, present some new data drawn particularly from the Lansing, Hitchcock, and Wilson papers. As in the case of Professor Bailey's other writings,

the style is vigorous and readable. There are no footnotes, but his bibliographical notes at the end of the book are complete, and contain useful explanatory comment.

The author explains in his foreword that he presents his narrative "*with emphasis on what went wrong*" in the hope that we may recognize and avoid in the future certain disastrous pitfalls. The book is obviously, therefore, more than an ordinary piece of historical writing. While seeking to record accurately the facts, the author is also very much concerned with the lessons of this past experience. He wants to know why things happened as they did, and who was responsible. His judgments on controversial issues therefore are of first importance.

The Cranston book is different in its appeal and in its technique. It does not attempt a continuous narrative but rather consists of a series of verbal snapshots which pieced together give a picture of what happened in the period from the spring of 1917 to Armistice Day, 1923. There is consequently a sacrifice of fullness and balance of treatment, but the book succeeds very well in conveying a clear impression of the motives and purposes of the principal actors and of the nature of the principal conflicts. In fact, the Cranston book is at many points a useful supplement to the Bailey book in that it gives much illuminating factual detail concerning incidents which figure prominently in Professor Bailey's narrative.

The central question with which both the Bailey and the Cranston books deal is that of the responsibility for the failure of American ratification of the Treaty of Versailles. This is a question upon which no conclusion satisfactory to everyone will probably ever be reached, because answering it requires passing judgment upon the motives of the principal actors, and evaluating the influence of different factors in highly complicated political situations. However, there is probably general agreement with at least one of Professor Bailey's conclusions, that "blind partisanship, as much as any other single factor, ruined the League of Nations in the United States."

This alone, however, is a relatively superficial explanation of what went wrong, since it does not take into account fundamental conditions and attitudes in the country which made it possible for party leaders to make capital out of opposition to the peace treaty. Professor Bailey takes these factors into account. He concludes that the forces of ignorance, prejudice, and self-interest were sufficiently strong to give little ground for the belief that an idealistic crusade on behalf of the League would have succeeded, even if Wilson's health had permitted him to lead it. This of course is not equivalent to saying that American isolationist sentiment was the direct cause of the treaty's defeat. But undoubtedly the aftermath of the war saw strong isolationist tendencies and enough ignorance of the issues involved to make it possible for the opposition to the League to confuse and becloud the issues.

On the question of the personal responsibility of Lodge and Wilson, Professor Bailey's conclusion is that while Lodge's responsibility for the impasse was great,

it was Wilson alone who at the end could have broken the log jam. Furthermore, he inclines to excuse Lodge by contending that Lodge's ultimate responsibility was to keep the party from breaking to pieces, while Wilson's was to get the treaty approved. To the reviewer, this is not a wholly satisfactory definition of the responsibility of the chairman of the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, and if accepted, places Wilson in the impossible position of having to accept whatever terms suited the interest of the Republican party. Certainly Lodge's position was such that he had a responsibility equal to Wilson's to see that what was done was in the best interest of the country, and he must be judged by that standard. While Bailey accepts the generally held view that Lodge was motivated by his hatred of Wilson and intense partisanship, he appears to waver in his judgment with regard to Lodge's good faith. There is certainly strong evidence, presented by both Bailey and Cranston, that Lodge was primarily interested in defeating the League.

Wilson's position was indeed a tragic one, and Professor Bailey depicts it in all its tragic detail. In the final analysis, as Professor Bailey truly says, Wilson prevented American ratification of the treaty and the Covenant. One cannot escape the conclusion that his physical and mental condition following his collapse at Pueblo was a large factor in explaining his seeming intransigence. He was undoubtedly poorly informed by those about him and by the Democratic leadership in the Senate. He was deeply influenced by his hatred of Lodge. His confidence in an appeal to the people was not justified by the facts. And yet, in defense of Wilson it must be pointed out that the effect of the Lodge reservations cannot be fairly judged on the basis of the experience of a League that failed. Perhaps the acceptance of the moral obligation of Article X was a necessary condition to an effective League. And it certainly can be argued that formal American participation in the League without willingness to assume the obligations of membership, even if the other countries had been prepared to accept us on those terms, would not necessarily have produced a better result than our staying out.

It is easy of course to take issue with the conclusions reached on any such controversial matter as the responsibility for the "Great Betrayal." On a question of this kind, the reader has to make up his own mind on the basis of the facts presented, and both Professor Bailey and Mr. Cranston, each in his own way, have done commendable jobs in marshaling the evidence. Professor Bailey has gone one step farther, and not being satisfied to let the evidence speak for itself, which it does not always do to the untrained reader, has given us his own carefully thought out conclusions. One can take issue with them but one cannot deny the carefulness and objectivity with which they have been reached.

*Boston, Massachusetts*

LELAND M. GOODRICH

## Ancient and Medieval History

THE PEOPLE OF ARISTOPHANES: A SOCIOLOGY OF OLD ATTIC COMEDY. By *Victor Ehrenberg*, Temporary Lecturer in Classics at King's College, Newcastle upon Tyne, University of Durham. (Oxford: Basil Blackwell. 1943. Pp. xii, 320. 25s.)

THIS is a notable addition to the literature on the economics and sociology of the classical world. It has long been generally realized that ancient comedy reflects many social and economic forces, and historians such as Ferguson and Rostovtzeff have made excellent use of it. But in Ehrenberg's thorough study have been assembled for the first time all the data of sociological or economic significance in one entire section of ancient comedy.

In such a study the author's own social outlook is of fundamental importance. At the outset Ehrenberg sketches the conflict between the two major modern theories of ancient economics, of which the older maintained that "the facts of economic life had the same nature and importance in the past as they have at the present day," while the later holds that "economic circumstances in different ages differ entirely both in their nature and in their importance" and that "since among ancient peoples they were on the whole primitive, their practical importance was negligible" (p. 3). Ehrenberg is no blind follower of either faith. In general he is successful in holding to a middle course; and his work is significant as a lucid compendium of sociological and economic data rather than because of any theory of interpretation of those data. By its very nature Ehrenberg's encyclopedic catalogue of facts makes difficult, albeit interesting, reading; but it is a book which no student of the times can afford to ignore.

In only one really important particular does Ehrenberg permit himself to theorize, and probably most scholars will agree that the age of Aristophanes was, indeed, characterized by the rise to prominence of some such attitudes as those which he ascribes to the "middle class." It is, however, unfortunate that, in spite of his aversion elsewhere for the application of modern terms to the phenomena of ancient economics, he saw fit frequently to employ so elastic a term as "middle class" without attempting a precise definition. The closest approach to such a definition appears to be in the chapter on "Traders and Craftsmen," which he concludes by urging "the unity of that social class formed by the preponderant part of the citizen body, farmers, tradesmen and artisans, and chiefly characterized by the sale of the goods they produced themselves, or by overseas trade. . . . I must emphasize that there was among the citizens a class or at least the remains of a class, above them, and none below. For the dregs of the populace, even the paid day-labourers, were not so numerous that they could be counted as a distinct class. . . . Economically they [the members of the middle class] were men, great and small, who lived on their earnings, not on property" (pp. 111-12). The inclu-

sion of the "farmers," however, appears a bit curious in view of Ehrenberg's earlier contention (p. 37) that "knights and peasants" found "a common bond in their hostility to the demagogues" and were opposed by a group of men ranging "from the small pedlar to the owner of a large workshop" (see also p. 256), surely the same group later characterized as the "middle class." On the other hand, if the buying power of an obol was as little as Ehrenberg indicates (pp. 162 f.), if there actually was a "veritable rush to the ekklesia" (p. 166) "after the three obols had been introduced"; if there were "usurers who had got their name from their reputation for lending only a few obols at a time" (p. 170); if, in short, "the man who earns just a bare living by the work of his hands" is "a description which, in fact, may be applied to the vast majority of the people" (p. 172), then surely the "dregs of the populace" were, at least during the later years of Aristophanes, sufficiently numerous to be "counted as a distinct class." (See also pp. 55, 117, 120-21, 129, 135, 178-79, 183-84, and elsewhere for reference to the poor.) Finally, the distinction that the men of the middle class lived "on their earnings not on property" is hardly enough. Surely there is a further distinction between the "earnings" derived from investment and "earnings" derived from wages. The fact of the matter, of course, is that the society of Aristophanes was no more static than is any other society involved in a major war, and the composition of the "middle class," as well as any other class must have changed constantly and drastically. This is intimated in the two introductory chapters on the comedies but not made sufficiently clear in the later detailed treatment.

A few minor points of interpretation deserve consideration. It is unlikely that "it was as a complement, not in competition, that slaves worked side by side with free men" (p. 134). "The ordinary law of supply and demand" which Ehrenberg elsewhere considers controlled food prices (p. 164), would require that two or more men doing the same work would be competitors whether they were slave or free. Again it may be true that the "hard bargaining" which follows when "Dionysos persuades his master to take a paid servant" does mean that "a free day-labourer might, or might not, undertake the work of a slave, according to the wage offered" (p. 136). But surely the "wage offered" by any owner would be no more than the money necessary to feed and clothe a slave with, of course, allowance for "depreciation." Finally, it may be that it did make "no great difference to a man's fellow-craftsmen if he kept a few slaves in his workshop" (p. 136). But it certainly must have meant that his "fellow-craftsmen" could afford to pay their own free day laborers only a little more than enough to keep them alive if their finished product were to sell as cheaply as that of the slave owner. This would be true whether the workshop had one or one hundred workmen. It is, of course, quite probable that the competition was not nearly so keen as in later times.

It is misleading to say that "the slaves represented no social problem at all" to

Tiberius Gracchus (p. 279, n. 3). He was aroused to his reforms by the misery of the *ergastula* in Etruria, and his reforms were synchronous with the great slave revolts.

So much for the "people of Aristophanes." Another aspect of the matter remains to be explored: What was the social outlook of Aristophanes himself? Why do his comedies preserve these particular data, what personal bias distorted their presentation, and what did he pass over in silence? Only occasionally and in general terms does Ehrenberg touch on this aspect of the matter—e.g., "Aristophanes' attitude, which, in spite of its conservatism, is not one-sided," a curious phrase (p. 38); "To Aristophanes intellectual pursuits were as wicked a source of economic gain as politics" (p. 45); "Aristophanes had no definite political bias" (p. 84); "Aristophanes for all his conservatism" (p. 239); and so on. The *Clouds*, we are told, reflects "a common misunderstanding of Sokrates, not on the poet's part, for he must have known better but on the part of the audience for whose judgment and taste he wrote" (p. 198). "The poet's real intention . . . was to attack Sokrates as the true sophist, as the incarnation of all sophists" (p. 199). Ehrenberg seems to prefer to convict Aristophanes of intellectual dishonesty rather than of misunderstanding.

But it would, of course, be quite unfair to press any criticism of interpretation in a work whose primary concern is not interpretation. To have assembled and arranged this imposing body of facts and then to have presented them in a foreign language under the trying conditions of exile is a magnificent achievement.

University of Illinois and  
Folger Shakespeare Library

W. A. OLDFATHER AND  
PAUL S. DUNKIN

CHURCH LIFE IN ENGLAND IN THE THIRTEENTH CENTURY. By John R. H. Moorman, Emmanuel College, Cambridge. (Cambridge: At the University Press; New York: Macmillan Company. 1945. Pp. xxviii, 444. \$5.50.)

WRITTEN during the air raids of 1940-1941 and published by the Cambridge University Press under difficult war conditions, Mr. Moorman's book is another indication of the importance attached to scholarship in England. The author attempts to paint a comprehensive picture of religious life in parishes and religious communities during a single century. To the task he brings practical experience as a rector, wide reading in ecclesiastical materials, and that same careful scholarship which distinguished his study of the "Sources for the Life of St. Francis." His account is based upon an unusually wide variety of printed sources, episcopal registers, chartularies, chronicles, and the like, many of which have been edited by private and local societies and are not easily accessible. These he treats in the light of recent research. The result is a readable and interesting book, full of delightful detail. Seventeen chapters are devoted to the secular clergy. These include a brief history of the parochial system, chantries, and collegiate churches, a descrip-



tion of the services of the church which "from the cradle to the grave and beyond it—tried to keep in touch with the lives and souls of its members," of the classes of parochial clergy, and of clerical income at a time when the vicarage system was at its height. If one hesitates to accept statistics about an average clerical wage translated into modern money, one must yet be impressed with the careful and revealing evidence of the number of ordained clergy, an average of one man in fifty, five in each parish. It was indeed an "England swarming with clerics." Most absorbing are the chapters which describe the medieval bishop, his household and constant peregrinations. The list of bishops includes many men of probity and distinguished scholars like Robert Grosseteste, John Pecham, Richard le Poore, and Thomas Corbridge. The thirteenth century was alive to the need for reform, and two valuable chapters discuss such evils as pluralism, nonresidence, lack of proper ordination, and the efforts to meet the demand for remedy, efforts which were often thwarted by vested interests and the practice of appeals to Rome. The last nine chapters are devoted to the regular clergy whose approximate numbers the author has computed in an appendix. For the monasteries it was an age of decline when the monastic life was ceasing to attract the ablest men or the support of public opinion. Yet it was an age when religious houses played a greater part in the life of the community and made a valuable contribution to society in providing hospitality, lodging for the aged, and "a good deal of genuine poor relief." The "purest and most virile aspect of church work" up to the middle of the century, however, was what the author calls "the glory of the friars." Failure of the Franciscans to live up to the ideal of poverty, jealousy, ambition, and lack of co-operation soon brought an end to what had been a great and noble experiment.

Mr. Moorman would be the first to admit that his picture is incomplete. He has had to rely upon printed materials which are uneven in quality. Re-editing of texts like the "Concilia" and publication of other manuscript sources within the next few years will probably throw more light on certain aspects of church life. His intention was to concentrate upon administration and practice of the clergy and to make only incidental reference to the influence of king and pope or to the intellectual movements of the period. Yet one wishes that he had told us more about collegiate churches, royal free chapels, and "peculiar" exempt from episcopal jurisdiction. Twice he refers to the "mediaeval passion for litigation," but his discussion makes no attempt to deal adequately with the organization, procedure, or jurisdiction of court Christian. It is disappointing to find only occasional reference to the archdeacon, and to have that important "eye of the bishop" described only as "one who had considerable powers and generally a bad name," nor do we learn any more about the duties of the rural dean. More use might have been made of Miss Churchill's study of Canterbury administration and of chancery records.

Mr. Moorman has presented an objective yet sympathetic picture of the church in England during a vital and creative period of its history. His interpretations

may not be new or acceptable in detail to all scholars, but he has performed a great service in taking stock of the work already done and in pointing the way for further research.

Mount Holyoke College

NORMA ADAMS

## Modern European History

A HISTORY OF UNITARIANISM: SOCINIANISM AND ITS ANTECEDENTS. By *Earl Morse Wilbur*. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1945. Pp. xiii, 617. \$6.00.)

THIS is a welcome addition to the literature defending the long-contested birthrights of the "step-children" of the Protestant Reformation. Its immediate predecessor, John Horsch's *Mennonite History*, Volume I, *Mennonites in Europe*, was published in 1942 (*Am. Hist. Rev.*, XLVIII, 788).

President Wilbur's book, which is to be followed by a companion volume on the derivative Unitarianism of England and America, is a great achievement of resolute, scholarly industry. It rests on sources in thirteen languages (preface), several of which the author mastered for this special undertaking. The materials were collected barely in time—before the destruction of many of the libraries of eastern Europe in the second World War. The book is fully documented, with ample footnotes giving all necessary bibliographical data, although it lacks a separate bibliography. The narrative is factual, without a trace of rhetoric or emotion. The story is complex and demands attentive reading, with considerable checking back to earlier pages.

The author devotes half his space to precursors and pioneers—to all, from Arius down, who in any manner walked in the unitarian or antitrinitarian direction, marked out by the "three principles of freedom, reason, and tolerance." Each individual is accompanied by his educational pedigree. Indeed the entire book can be used, with the aid of the index, as a biographical dictionary of left-wing European theologians. Servetus, who was not a Unitarian, although he held unorthodox views on the Trinity, receives outstanding attention and space.

Faustus Socinus (1539-1604), who was to the Polish Unitarians what Menno Simons was to the Baptists, represented a moderate Unitarianism which recognized Christ as divine although subordinate to God Himself. His influence was so potent that the European Unitarians were soon known as Socinians. The efforts of the Polish brethren to knit up relations with liberal Protestant groups in western Europe are recounted at length. Particularly noticeable, by the way, is the international activity of Calvin.

Protestantism was at its peak in Poland in the years 1563-1565. The Calvinists were the most numerous; next came the Lutherans. Far below them in numbers

were the Socinians. All these groups (and still others) desired legal protection from the unenforced but unrepealed heresy law. This they achieved, with the aid of the Catholic nobles, in 1573, when a new coronation oath was drawn up by the Diet, which included this pledge: "I promise and solemnly swear by almighty God that . . . I will preserve and maintain peace and quiet among those that differ with regard to religion (*dissidentes de religione*)" (pp. 363-64).

The hopes of the Polish Socinians were not realized. The Calvinists and Lutherans, anxious to avoid a reputation for radicalism, ganged up with the resurgent Catholics (heartened by the Council of Trent) against the Socinians, and gradually the *dissidentes* phrase was twisted into signifying only the Calvinists and the Lutherans, leaving the Socinians outside, in company with Jews, Turks, and pagans. The outcome was the exile of the Socinians of Poland about 1660, despite their good lives, their broad educational activities, and their learned publications. The turn of the Calvinists and the Lutherans in Poland was not long delayed. The crushing of the Socinian groups, frequently dubbed "Arians," in western Europe, even in tolerant Holland, at length followed.

Some space is devoted, hither and yon, to the attempt to prove that Socinian ideas influenced the views of the other Protestant bodies. It is argued, for example, that the scores of doctoral dissertations in the Protestant theological schools of Germany and Holland, attacking Socinian theology, represent a recognition of the need for defense. This reviewer wonders whether they might not indicate merely a preference for lively thesis subjects. Dr. Wilbur has a chapter (pp. 560 ff.) on "Socinianism among the Mennonites and Collegiants," arguing that the Mennonites were deeply influenced, although he concedes that "as a whole they never embraced Socinianism." Horsch, in his *Mennonite History*, Volume I, explicitly denies Socinian influence (see index, *sub* Socinians). The evolution of Socinian teaching from exclusive dependence on the Scriptures to the principle that clashes between reason and Holy Writ are to be decided in favor of reason is adverted to here and there; but nowhere is it actually illustrated.

These minor criticisms are not believed to affect appreciably the positive values of this most distinguished book. Its companion volume will be eagerly welcomed by students of religious history.

University of Wisconsin

G. C. SELLERY

THE CLASSICAL REPUBLICANS: AN ESSAY IN THE RECOVERY OF A PATTERN OF THOUGHT IN SEVENTEENTH CENTURY ENGLAND. By Zera S. Fink, Northwestern University. [Northwestern University Studies in the Humanities, Number Nine.] (Evanston: Northwestern University. 1945. Pp. xi, 225. \$4.00.)

Miss Fink's study does not attempt too much, but it traces a theme through several centuries. It is modest in its claims, yet leaves no doubt as to the importance

of the subject. It shows evidence of wide reading and proves its points beyond question. The plan is clear and unified, but many promising byways of further investigation are indicated.

Just as the men of the Renaissance imitated or adapted from the Classical Age in literature and art, so they did in the political field. The most influential classical theorists were Aristotle, Polybius, Cicero, and Plutarch. All praise the virtues of a state with mixed government: a blend of monarchy, aristocracy, and democracy. When combined, these pure forms, acting as checks on each other, were less likely to degenerate into the corresponding corrupted forms of tyranny, oligarchy, and mob rule, but a mixture did not exclude the possibility of dominance by one of the three elements, a condition preferred by all these writers. Typically, such governments were or should be instituted complete by a great lawgiver—a Lycurgus, for example.

Machiavelli, More, and Contarini, named by Bodin as the leading exponents of the classical theory of the superiority of mixed government, are next considered, as are the similar ideas of Walter Raleigh and Philip Hunton. This leads to the point that in England, as the seventeenth century progressed, those who held for mixed monarchy, and saw in England's parliamentary institutions an actual example, tended to become more and more republican. The evolution of their thought and the attacks made upon them by Filmer and the extreme royalists are carefully considered.

Sparta and the Roman republic were the great classical exemplars, but the Most Serene Republic of Venice, rooted in the past and apparently flourishing in the present, was a special favorite. The facts, even when brought to light, made little difference; it was generally agreed that the government of Venice was a judicious blending of the proper elements, done by a single master stroke of constitution-making, lasting unchanged and unshaken for a thousand years. Miss Fink's study of the Venetian myth and its spread in England is especially edifying.

The central chapters of the book are concerned with Harrington, the Rota, Milton (who saw Cromwell as the potential institutor of his ideal mixed state), Nevill (*Plato Redivivus*), and Algernon Sydney. These cover the period of classical republicanism as an actively advocated program for the reform of government. It is impossible to do this part justice in a brief review, but it is painstakingly thorough and has much of interest not only for the student of history and government but for the student of English literature as well.

A final chapter considers subsequent developments. There are short but illuminating references to Locke and Montesquieu, and the story is brought to a close across the Atlantic with a bow to the framers of the Constitution and their plan for the separation and balance of powers in their new state.

*California Institute of Technology*

HARDIN CRAIG, JR.

LONDON AND THE NATIONAL GOVERNMENT, 1721-1742: A STUDY OF CITY POLITICS AND THE WALPOLE ADMINISTRATION. By *Alfred James Henderson*. (Durham: Duke University Press. 1945. Pp. x, 242. \$3.00.)

THE great importance of London in national affairs naturally led Sir Robert Walpole to seek its support for his administration by every means at his disposal. Yet in spite of growing prosperity, sound economic measures, and all the political devices of which Sir Robert was master, the City remained predominantly hostile. The common councilmen, like the majority of the citizens they represented, regularly opposed his policies, and even his early majority in the court of aldermen was eventually lost.

Why the merchants and tradesmen of London should have reacted so unfavorably to Walpole and why they should have been won so consistently by the appeals of the opposition has never been satisfactorily explained. Professor Henderson's study brings out much interesting information relating to this problem, although he sets himself the task of telling what happened rather than why. His purpose is to describe on the one hand the Londoners' participation in national affairs and their influence on the policies of Walpole's administration, and on the other hand the effect of the national situation on London politics. Various issues in which the City played a part in parliamentary struggles are given special attention, including the Quarantine Act, the Westminster Bridge Bill, the City Elections Act of 1725, the Excise Scheme, and the Spanish War of 1739, and much space is devoted to detailed accounts of elections of common councilmen, aldermen, sheriffs, lord mayors, and representatives in Parliament, for "at nearly every election in the City . . . the question of support of or opposition to the Walpole ministry was an important factor" (p. 212).

Much of Professor Henderson's material is drawn from a thorough study of contemporary newspapers. The records in the Guildhall and the manuscript collections in the British Museum and the Public Record Office have been used, and the bibliography includes long lists of contemporary pamphlets and of "other printed works" of later vintage.

The book is a scholarly statement of the results of intensive research. Many of the elections and other events treated in detail may, of course, appear of very minor importance to the reader interested in the more general aspects of history, but to the serious student of early eighteenth century politics Professor Henderson's study will be of value not only for its contributions to the larger aspects of its subject but also for the light it throws into many obscure corners.

*University of Kansas*

CHARLES B. REALEY

THE BANK OF ENGLAND: A HISTORY. Volume I, 1694-1797; Volume II, 1797-1914; with an Epilogue, THE BANK AS IT IS. By *Sir John Clapham*.

(Cambridge: At the University Press; New York: Macmillan Company. 1945. Pp. ix, 305; v, 460. \$7.50 per set.)

THIS work was begun in 1938 at the suggestion of the Bank of England as a memorial of the 250th anniversary of the foundation.

Volume I is by long odds the more valuable, particularly chapters III-VIII, which deal intimately with the bank's organization, functions, and policies. The gap for the years 1722-1762 is remarkable; it is partly due to a lack of bank records. Volume II is really a banking and financial history of England, the Bank of England being brought in only here and there. It appears to be in effect a fourth volume of the author's *An Economic History of Modern Britain*.

The author's chief method of treatment is to string along individual events or expositions of policy as they occur chronologically. In this way, the reader is deprived of any consecutive or prolonged treatment of most subjects. In order to piece together any story of practice or procedure, it is necessary to go to the index, which is stronger in the listing of unimportant names than of important facts or topics. There are occasional verbal thrusts and sly references which the reader would not like to miss. The author's judgments are mature and conservative. He is well informed as to British and Continental backgrounds and is not unacquainted with American institutions.

As the author points out, the Bank of England owed much to the experience of the goldsmiths and merchants of London. Starting as a government agency, it became a full-fledged commercial central bank. There was never a specialized central bank banker; all the directors and other officers had outside duties of their own in other banks or mercantile houses. To be sure, even the directors had some management jobs of importance, such as passing on requests for discounts. In 1720 the bank loaned on its stock and the value thereof rose. What happened to this dangerous practice is not recorded. In general, businessmen were doing a creative job and the politicians were sitting on the benches as critics. The author stresses the latter more than the former. There was no formulated reserve policy as late as the 1750's. Throughout its history the bank has been hostile to publicity and must therefore be pleased when the author reveals in his two volumes so little of its inside working. In the eighteenth century the bank served the City's private bankers who in turn served the country bankers. Overdrafts on large accounts were normal. Only Londoners discounted in the eighteenth century. At that time checks were cashed to pay debts rather than handed over to the creditor. Throughout its history, the bank had a strong nucleus of foreign born or new-English families in high managerial posts. Gradually the stock ownership has reached the possession of corporations, women, and the clergy. There is considerable emphasis on the separation of the issue and banking departments in 1844 and on bullion reserve throughout. In the 1860's the bank became the keeper of securities, the income from which was credited to the accounts of the owners. Crises are dealt

with throughout, and there is an analysis of businessmen (customers) in London about 1825 that might have been dealt with at greater length.

There are few, if any, fresh views or broad conclusions, though there are plenty of personal opinions and judicious deductions concerning controversial issues. The author is more interested in an exposition of facts, as they occurred, than he is in putting them together in any large way. The book is strong in critical revisions of accepted views.

Occasionally we get information about bank management. The directors took turns in serving on the various committees. The treasury committee was the dominant part of the organization. The directors and other officers were closely connected with finance and commerce in London. The government was the chief customer, while industry (manufacture) was in the remote background. The student of early American banks should read this work, particularly Volume I.

Although the author lists the records of the bank, he does not use them to the fullest extent. Indeed, at the least provocation he goes to the printed sources by way of relief, particularly in the second volume. For the early period the correspondence of the bank has not survived in quantity. The minute books are formal and scant in revelation.

The last thirty years are omitted. Here was the real opportunity of doing something like a definitive historical job, for many of the actors were still alive and could be consulted. Of course, it would have been too much to expect a bank to assume such leadership in current public relations. The Bank of England has been characterized by a propensity to follow, not to lead.

The author gives more attention to policy than to management, particularly in the second volume, though, to be sure, he notes efforts made to meet recurring crises. We miss a presentation of the bank's executives and their individual contributions. Indeed, the book is not so much a piece of finished research as it is a piece of judicious and able compilation of important available material. It will have a stronger appeal to the economist and economic historian than to the business historian.

*Harvard University*

N. S. B. GRAS

YEARS OF VICTORY, 1802-1812. By *Arthur Bryant*. (New York: Harper and Brothers. 1945. Pp. xii, 468. \$4.00.)

"History is the true epic poem"—Carlyle's overquoted words insist on being quoted yet again as one attempts judgment and summary of Mr. Bryant's vivid and scholarly narrative of ten crowded years, from the collapse of the Peace of Amiens to the storming of Ciudad Rodrigo. It is not inevitable that every serious work of history should be dull; nor need a work about the past so entertaining and so well-written as *Years of Victory* necessarily be dragged out of the category of history. But the scale, the theme, and the attitude of Mr. Bryant's all suggest the



epic, rather than the specialist monograph or the endless narrative of a lifetime's labor.

The English are still a historically minded people, and in times of dire stress they find inspiration in remembering the real and legendary deeds of their forefathers; and when have they so much needed that comfort as during the last five years? When Mr. Bryant has finished telling them and us—as we may hope he will—of the last three years of victory culminating with Waterloo, he must go on to recall their long, dangerous, but triumphant struggle with peace.

The heartening tale in war is always of the plucky little outnumbered island, with all its faults and follies to some extent confessed, defying and in the end defeating the wicked despot with all the might of a continent at his disposal. That the despot is Philip II, Louis XIV, or Napoleon (and not Caesar, Claudius, or William of Normandy) is after all only natural, and part of the rules, so to speak. It is also part of the rules not to go too curiously or sympathetically into the historical sources on the other side of the Channel. "Here," they say, "is another vulgar despot, who has to be prevented at enormous cost from enslaving the world." And so far the rest of the world has always joined in on those lines. As for the possibility or desirability of the United States of Europe—but perhaps that is better left undiscussed.

It seems only fair to warn the American reader that of the 177 items quoted in Mr. Bryant's bibliography, only five are French. All the liveliest of the English personal narratives of the Peninsular War are laid under contribution, but not a single French one, not even General Foy. *Years of Victory* is undoubtedly richly and painstakingly documented, but almost entirely from English sources. Mr. Bryant does not indeed go to the lengths of Carlyle in his *Cromwell*, where the author fiercely exults in the triumphs of "our side," by which he meant the people described by Dr. Johnson as "vile Whigs." Nevertheless, Mr. Bryant leaves the reader absolutely no doubt as to which he feels is "our side." It is odd to reflect that a mere novelist-poet like Thomas Hardy seems to have made much more strenuous efforts to see the "other side."

But of course much of the strength of this brilliantly executed work lies in its single-mindedness. With his quiet conviction of right versus wrong the historian is free to devote his great talents to the picturesque development of his epic narrative. Not even Sir Walter Scott, who gives up a chapter of *The Antiquary* to a vivid description of a false invasion alarm in Scotland on February 2, 1804, has equaled for power, picturesque incident, and narrative force Mr. Bryant's description of the "invasion scare" in England in 1803-1804. It is rare indeed to find nowadays so sustained and entertaining a narrative so carefully and conscientiously documented. Here indeed it is scarcely necessary to know more about the "other side" than that the emperor was making futile military gestures in and about Boulogne while his fleets were demonstrating how not to acquire world sea power. Nor is this by any means the only episode or series of episodes treated with this

spirit and literary gift. All the Peninsular War story is excellent, but with Oman to guide, this is perhaps less meritorious. It is perhaps inevitable that Napier on the Fusileers must always be quoted in an account of Albuera, but the rhetorical tone seems to make a false note in modern prose setting, too conspicuous a purple patch.

*Hollywood, California*

RICHARD ALDINGTON

CORRESPONDANCE DE PHILIPPE II SUR LES AFFAIRES DES PAYS-BAS. Deuxième Partie, RECUEIL DESTINÉ À FAIRE SUITE AUX TRAVAUX DE L.-P. GACHARD. Tome I (1577-1580). By *Joseph Lefèvre*, Conservateur aux Archives Générales du Royaume. [Académie Royale de Belgique, Commission Royale d'Histoire.] (Brussels: Palais des Académies. 1940. Pp. xxxiv, 819.)

BETWEEN 1848 and 1879, L. P. Gachard, Belgian archivist, published five volumes entitled *Correspondance de Philippe II sur les affaires des Pays-Bas* covering the years 1558 to 1577 (July 13). It was known that there existed a vast body of official or administrative correspondence between the Spanish sovereigns and their governor generals or regents in Brussels. This consisted of orders and instructions from the king, and reports, information, and suggestions from the regents. All were written in French. A complete set of this official correspondence for the reign of Philip II is in the Royal Archives in Brussels.

In the Spanish archives at Simancas Gachard discovered a voluminous secret correspondence between Philip and these regents. The letters, often holograph, are in Spanish, except the Italian letters of Margaret of Parma. They were dispatched by the private secretaries of the regents without being shown to any Belgian court officials. In Spain, this correspondence was known only to the secretaries of the Council of State. While the official correspondence is a very important historical source, the historian will immediately grasp the value of the secret correspondence which contains confidential information that sometimes disagrees with the official reports.

In the first three volumes of Philip II's correspondence (1558-1576), Gachard limited himself to the secret letters, except for some official dispatches published *in extenso* in appendixes. In the fourth and fifth volumes (1576-1577), he utilized both the official (French) and the secret (Spanish) correspondence, publishing the French correspondence in full and summarizing the Spanish.

Later Gachard undertook to publish all of the earlier official correspondence. He issued three volumes of that of Margaret of Parma for the years 1559-1565. A final volume of her French correspondence (1565-1567) appeared in 1925, edited by J. S. Theissen, librarian of the University of Groningen.

Other scholars turned to the seventeenth century correspondence. Six volumes entitled *Correspondance de la Cour d'Espagne pour les affaires des Pays-Bas au*

*XVII siècle*, edited by H. Lonchay, J. Cuvelier, and J. Lefèvre, appeared in Brussels between 1922 and 1937.

The Belgian Commission Royale d'Histoire has undertaken to fill the gap between the volumes published by Gachard and those for the seventeenth century. The first of these volumes was published in 1940. It continues the correspondence of Philip II from where Gachard's fifth volume stopped—in the regency of Don Juan of Austria. The period covered is July 16, 1577, through March 31, 1580, the last years of Don Juan's governorship and the first of the duke of Parma's. Administrative papers and secret letters are all summarized. Difficult passages are quoted in footnotes. The calendaring is so well done—with long analyses of many secret letters—that one cannot dip into the volume without immediately getting a feeling of the tenseness of those years when the fate of the Spanish rule in the Netherlands hung in the balance. There is a very useful index of persons, places, and institutions.

It is hoped that peace will permit the publication of the correspondence of Philip II from 1580 until his death in 1598. The next volumes dealing with the regency of the duke of Parma and the reconquest of the southern Netherlands should be especially interesting.

*Oberlin, Ohio*

FLORENCE EDLER DE ROOVER

THE DEVELOPMENT OF MODERN ITALY. By *Cecil J. S. Sprigge*. (New Haven: Yale University Press. 1944. Pp. 216. \$2.75.)

THIS is a study of political forces and developments in Italy from the eve of unification to the Fascist seizure of power. The author was Rome correspondent of the Manchester *Guardian* in the years between the two world wars and has based his book on his direct experience of Italy in pre-Fascist Rome, on his discussions with Italians of all classes on the origins of the Fascist revolution, and on reading and research. The result, however, is not journalism but a historical study of the chief political figures, the principal parties and groups, the regional and social forces, and the institutions of government during the three quarters of a century preceding the March on Rome.

Mr. Sprigge emphasizes the discontent and the sense of frustration which kept Italy in ferment after 1861. He contrasts the united Italy of Mazzini's aspirations with the tightly centralized monarchy which was established by the Savoy dynasty and Piedmont. He points out the ill effects of the sudden extension to all Italy of the Piedmontese constitution, laws, and institutions, especially the system of taxation, and shows the discontent and the suffering which these administrative measures caused in the southern half of the new kingdom. He traces the development of the parliamentary regime, the rise of the semidictatorships of Depretis, Crispi, and Giolitti, and the transformation of the chamber of deputies into a market place for bargains between the government and the constituencies.

About one half of the book is devoted to the period 1914-1922. The author

depicts the confusion in thought which set in with the outbreak of the first World War and persisted beyond its conclusion. Italian statesmen and parties failed to reconcile the conflicting war aims and to make the concept of the democratic war prevail. Sprigge traces the party strife of those years, the growing defeatism, and the emergence of the doctrine of the lost peace. He criticizes the Socialist party for its policy of abstention from the conduct of public affairs. The tortuous course of action of Mussolini is followed from the Libyan War through the Great War to the March on Rome. The troubled domestic scene is described. The author, in accounting for the success of the Fascists, stresses the failure of liberal leadership, the breakdown of the positions of authority, and the frustrated, exasperated condition of Italy between 1919 and 1922.

The book is of value as a clear and intelligent presentation of those aspects of Italy's political life which contributed most directly to the Fascist victory.

*University of Michigan*

HOWARD M. EHLMANN

EVOLUTION OF THE DUTCH NATION. By *Bernard H. M. Vlekke*, Professor of History and Secretary General of the Netherland Government, Historical Institute in Rome. (New York: Roy Publishers. 1945. Pp. xi, 377. \$3.50.)

DR. Vlekke, who in the few years of enforced absence from his work in Rome has been engaged in productive scholarly labor in this country, has attempted a comprehensive and interpretive history of the Dutch people within the compass of 350 pages. This is no small task. While it cannot be said that he has been wholly successful, it must be acknowledged that he has written a book of more than usual interest, at least for those who have some acquaintance with the history of the Low Countries.

The first chapters, dealing with the origin and early development of the inhabitants of the Low Lands, are well done. They are not dull, as similar chapters often are. The last chapters are likewise of a high order.

The middle chapters, which deal with the eighty years' war against Spain, are both the most interesting and the least satisfactory of the book. There has been much controversy among Dutch and Belgian historians over the interpretation of this period of the history of the Low Countries. Some Dutch and more Flemish historians, constituting what may be called the Great Netherlands school, hold the view that there was a Dutch nation before there existed a Dutch state, while Pirenne and most of the leading Dutch historians maintain that the war was primarily a revolution of one part of the Netherlands people against the other, and that the two peoples developed separate nationalities. Vlekke, in the main, shares the views of the first group.

Of Groen van Prinsterer, the Calvinist historian and statesman of the nineteenth century, Vlekke writes: "In one point of his historical interpretation of national policy, Groen was definitely mistaken. This was his view of the origin of the Netherland Nation. Not only did he ignore all national development before the

Great Revolt but he made this revolt and with it the nation, dependent on the Calvinist struggle. That is why he saw its Calvinism as its basic trait." To refute Groen's position the author relies rather heavily on the statements made in the early years of the war, and especially on the declaration of freedom of 1581, which advanced "political and not religious reasons for the revolt." This is not very convincing. Men are often driven by the logic of events to take positions which in the beginning they had never contemplated. Vlekke is so intent on pressing his interpretation of the period that he fails to give a clear picture of what actually happened. Yet in spite of this purpose he admits enough to seriously weaken, if not completely destroy, his own basic argument. He writes that while discontent was widespread, "there was only one strong and determined opposition group, the Calvinist, who opposed the King on political as well as religious grounds" (p. 133); that after the "Church of Rome further defined its dogma at the Council of Trent . . . evasion of the dogmatic issue was no longer possible"; that William of Orange "realized that Calvinism was dreaded by all princes . . . as an anti-monarchical movement"; and that "the Netherlands became Calvinist because they were anti-Spanish."

In his criticism of Groen's position Vlekke seems to forget that national character may, and does, change. The national character of the Netherlands today is not the same as it was three centuries ago. Groen's view that the Dutch government should promote the revival and strengthening of the Calvinistic character of the Dutch nation was a question of policy for the people of his day to decide, but it has little to do with Groen's interpretation of the eighty years' war.

Dr. Vlekke makes some statements which are rather surprising, since they are made by one so conversant with Dutch religious life. In speaking of the "increasing proportional strength" of the Catholics in the population (p. 316), he is repeating a commonly held error. The percentage of the total population which is Catholic has been practically constant since 1869. It is misleading to apply the name Christian Reformed Churches to the denomination formed by Kuyper, and it is wholly wrong to speak of them as "individual congregations" with "complete autonomy" (p. 317).

This history is a welcome addition to the splendid list of books which have been published in this country during the past few years about the Netherlands and on various phases of Dutch life. All of Dr. Vlekke's interpretations are interesting and challenging, though some of them will not be widely accepted.

*University of Kentucky*

AMRY VANDENBOSCH

THE GERMAN RECORD: A POLITICAL PORTRAIT. By *William Ebenstein*. (New York: Farrar and Rinehart. 1945. Pp. ix, 334. Text \$2.25, trade \$3.00.)

PROFESSOR Ebenstein has written this highly readable book to explain why Germany has the distinction of being "the one country in the world in which Nazism has been a genuine mass movement." He supports his thesis with a short

and brilliant analysis of the main trends of German history in modern times and of the prevalent pattern of German society and politics. With cogent arguments and in forceful sentences he presents the differences between Germany and the West—most of them very similar to those between Russia and the West. Many Germans choose freely not to be free—an attitude incomprehensible to the Western mind—because freedom has meant to the modern Germans voluntary submission of the individual to the collectivity and the sacrifice of individual freedom to national greatness and unity. By 1932, in entirely free elections, over two thirds of the German electorate voted for parties which whether on the Right or the Left were openly authoritarian and contemptuous of liberty. Rudolph Haym could say in 1848 of Germany what of course would be even more true of Russia: “In our Germany constitutional liberty is but an alien plant.”

But while the desire for liberty grew in Russia with the growth of a liberal middle class from 1848 to 1917, it declined in the same period in Germany. After 1848 over 770,000 Germans out of a population of 34,000,000 migrated to the United States alone in six years, while from 1933 to 1938 the number of Germans who emigrated voluntarily (not as a result of racial legislation) did not surpass 50,000 out of a population of 65,000,000. Professor Ebenstein definitely underestimates the “Western” element in Germany, while most Western students neglect the depth of Germany’s anti-Western attitude and the strength of “the permanent revolution of Prussianism.” Professor Ebenstein makes these elements in German history stand out in bold relief. The surprises Germany has sprung on the world since 1864 were rarely seen as results of a social and political pattern different from that of the West. While in Western society industry and science promoted the growth of liberty and free thought and lessened political control, in Germany, as in present-day Russia, they were promoted by the state and strengthened its power. In both countries the term “enemy of the state” has been a household word unknown in the West. As Professor Ebenstein points out, Marxism triumphed in one country only, Russia, and was rather successful in one other country, Germany. He considers the Marxian “doctrine of inevitable conflict, the total denial of the existing society, the vision of an all-powerful, omnipotent and omniscient state benevolently providing and planning for all citizens” as alien to the Western mind and social conditions. Before World War I, Western intellectuals were impressed by the rapid industrial and military progress of Germany without noticing the archaic foundations of German society and civilization on which the imposing superstructure of modern science and power was built. Whether this attitude was due to admiration of success or to ignorance, it contributed to the rise of the German superiority complex and thereby to German aggressiveness.

The historical part of Professor Ebenstein’s book can be recommended to all students of history and political science and to the general reader as a highly interesting guide to an understanding of Germany. Looking to the future the author warns Americans “against forgiving the Germans in a spirit of generous mag-



nanimity the crimes they have committed—against other peoples.” But his suggestions for the “education” of a democratic Germany appear hardly practical. He pins his hopes on the emergence of men like Eisner, Landauer, Haase, and other independent socialists and expects that their regime will be protected by Russia. But Russia would hardly welcome socialists of such a nonconformist turn of mind as Landauer, Luxemburg, or Eisner. They would quickly be “liquidated.” Nor is it probable that men of that kind are “the people with the Western ideas” who could integrate Germany into Western civilization. Professor Ebenstein himself has pointed out the difference between Marxism and the Western mind. Germany, shorn of all warmaking power and of all centralized governmental authority, will have, in a slow process of rediscovery, to revive and to strengthen those influences of Western liberalism and humanitarianism which existed before 1848 and of which vital traces survived in the *Rechtsstaat* even down to 1933.

Smith College

HANS KOHN

BALKAN BACKGROUND. By *Bernard Newman*. (New York: Macmillan Company. 1945. Pp. 354. \$2.50.)

THE title of this book does not quite cover its contents. A good deal of it is given to the discussion of the future of the Balkan nations after the war. Mr. Newman thinks in terms of a “Balkan Federation,” based on a final reconciliation between Bulgaria and the other Balkan states. He does not underrate the difficulties in the way of this idea; yet he goes so far as to draft a tentative “Balkan Charter,” which after the events of the autumn of 1945 retains only a very theoretical value. The exchange of populations, which he recommends time and again as a means to overcome the intricate minority problems of the peninsula, seems to have little, if any, chance to materialize. Mr. Newman is well acquainted with the Balkan peoples and writes with sincere sympathy for the common man, especially for the Balkan peasant, whose social importance he rightly stresses.

The book is “modest in scope; it tries to represent the minimum of what we,—i.e. the general British reader,—ought to know about the Balkans if we are to form an opinion.” So far he succeeded pretty well. In six consecutive chapters Mr. Newman deals with the ethnology, history, economics, and politics of the individual Balkan states. Fluently written, somewhat loose in style, free in mixing personal reminiscences and opinions with the report of facts, the book makes easy reading. To the historian Mr. Newman’s summary review of the history of each Balkan state would not offer very much, even if it had avoided, as it has not, minor mistakes. An exception can be made for the parts of the book dealing with events since 1939. The conflict between Rumania and Hungary, the Ribbentrop arbitration, the disruption of Greater Rumania, the competition between Mihailovič and Tito are sketched in clear form. Here the book can be of some use until more substantial information is easily available.



Mr. Newman tries hard to give an unbiased picture. He cannot help, however, seeing things from the English point of view. Your reviewer cannot be persuaded that in Greece "there is a wide desire for closer links with the British Empire" and that "if actual inclusion is not possible, then many Greeks would like an association on the Egyptian model."

*Kenyon College*

RICHARD SALOMON

EASTERN EUROPE BETWEEN THE WARS, 1918-1941. By *Hugh Seton-Watson*. (Cambridge: At the University Press; New York: Macmillan Company. 1945. Pp. xv, 442. \$6.50.)

THIS book is the result of five years of intermittent study. The first three were spent in eastern Europe and the last two were devoted to the sorting of the material and writing the book. The interest of the author in his subject, however, does not date from five years ago but is intimately connected with his background and his family tradition. Being the son of Professor R. W. Seton-Watson, who can be called the real discoverer of the Danubian and the Balkan countries in the Anglo-Saxon world and whose books have aroused a wide interest in the problems of the former Austro-Hungarian monarchy, young Seton-Watson continues the work of his father, whose influence he gratefully acknowledges in his preface.

What Hugh Seton-Watson is offering in this book is the history of the region lying between Germany and Russia—particularly the states of Czechoslovakia, Poland, Hungary, Rumania, Yugoslavia, and Bulgaria—between the two wars. Occasionally references are made to some of the neighboring states too. It may be asked whether the term "eastern Europe" is adequate for the designation of this territory, but such a question is of no consequence as the field of inquiry is clearly delineated. Had the book been written in the usual textbook style, it would have resulted in a chronological survey of the history of those countries, in itself a difficult task because of the lack of reliable literature. But the author has followed another method. As he himself states, "My sources have mainly been people. Conversations with men and women of each section, of various political views and social origin." A second source of the book was his own observation, for the author has visited, for varying periods, all the countries under review. Thus Mr. Seton-Watson gives us not only the political and diplomatic history of the countries in question (and the condensation of so many events and the lively characterization of different personalities are very successfully done indeed) but he gives us something far more important and very seldom fairly done by any of the travelers and journalists, namely, a psychological and sociological analysis of the life and problems of the respective nations. He tries to be objective and he has no axes to grind. Of course, some people will feel that he is somewhat overstating the achievements of the only democratic state of this region, Czechoslovakia, and that he is too

optimistic in evaluating the probable effects of the Soviet system as a source of "decentralization and more genuine political freedom" and perhaps too severe in stressing the failures of all the other states. Yet no impartial reader will fail to appreciate his sincerity, his keen vision, and his warm sympathy with the cause of democracy and freedom.

Broadly speaking, there is no doubt that the general psychological situation of the region and the dominant tendencies of the various countries have never before been elaborated with such understanding and penetration. First of all, the whole book develops the idea that the problems of the whole region are unsolvable without a radical remolding of economic and social structures. He rightly denounces blueprints and democratic declamations, because eastern Europe was and is a hunger region of overpopulation with appallingly low material and cultural standards. The agrarian reforms after the first World War came to little because the purely mechanical division of land was not followed by new agricultural methods and organization. Though no one can deny the truth of this generalization, the reviewer thinks that the author overstates the case, and some temperamental outbursts of his may give the impression that the whole belief in the superiority of the small peasant property was only a demagogic exaggeration. Yet the very trend of his argument shows just the opposite. It remains true that only a new and regenerated peasantry can be the leaders in the recovery of those 100,000,000 people who are living in the territory between Germany and Russia.

Another conclusion of the author is that the period between the two wars did not solve but even aggravated the nationality problem, the pretended cause of the first World War. The new ruling classes were no more successful in handling nationality antagonisms than the former leaders of the Habsburg monarchy. On the contrary, the *Kleinstaaterei* of the postwar system made the spirit of rivalry and economic nationalism more oppressive. Only in such a poisoned atmosphere could the idea of compulsory exchange of nationalities have germinated, the idea which became the official program of the Czechoslovak democracy after the second World War. The latter development was still obscure when the author finished his book, but he rightly and justly condemns this inhuman method.

Another factor which makes the picture of the period between the two wars even more gloomy was the enormous growth of corruption. Here the author emphasizes a point not sufficiently recognized in the West: "In eastern Europe, the greatest fortunes are made not in industry or banking, but in politics."

In this mire of hunger, corruption, and hatred and strife between nationalities, the intellectual horizon also was narrowed and educational integrity impaired. To give only one example among many, after 1918 one of the universities of Rumania, Jassy, supplied the police with a number of students willing to earn some income as toughs, *agents provocateurs*, strikebreakers, and Jew-baiters.

There are many other important problems treated by the author in the same broad and illuminating spirit. For instance, the tragic situation of the Jews in the

face of European anti-Semitism finds in the book an acute analysis which shows the demoralizing effects of this policy on both the persecuted and the persecutors. He also explains fully why a large fraction of the Jews has become either Zionist or Communist. In the light of many facts, he is very pessimistic about the future of European Jewry. He thinks that the terrible years 1933-1944, "the most terrible in the history of the race," have created a gap which will be almost impossible to bridge.

The reader will find excellent remarks concerning national minorities and "small-power imperialisms." But the author sees clearly that all these tensions are only superficial phenomena and all depends on "the raising of the standard of living of the Eastern European peasants, on which the prospect of social justice and political liberty in Eastern Europe depends." But to raise the standard, large investments are needed, and these are not within the financial resources of the eastern European governments. The vexed problem of Transylvania is elaborated with a clarity and objectivity that no previous author has shown. A purely Hungarian or Rumanian solution, with the compulsory transfer of populations, does not take into account the suffering of the people which such a nationalistic solution would involve. The author rightly says that only a federal solution could lead to a durable satisfaction "which would recognize that Transylvania is neither Roumanian nor Hungarian, but has a peculiar character and unity of its own, to which both nations have contributed and can contribute in the future. Transylvania would form an autonomous unit within a larger federation which would include not only Roumania and Hungary, but several other neighboring states."

This conclusion and many others are unassailable. But they are for the moment, as the author surely knows, only utopian dreams among the unmitigated greeds of power politics. This is the reason why, when he tries to make practical proposals for the near future, he comes occasionally into antagonism with his general principles. One may ask whether, in inquiries like this book, it would not be better to cling to historical observations and conclusions concerning a more distant future than to embark upon the doubtful business of *Realpolitik* and diplomats.

In an appendix useful racial and religious statistics are compiled. In the absence of the author on service overseas, the manuscript has been prepared for and seen through the press by Professor R. W. Seton-Watson.

The truth and objective reality of this remarkable book have found (as far as the reviewer can see) an unintentional support in an illuminating study by a group of experts of all the countries here concerned which was published under the auspices of a London organization for Political and Economic Planning (PEP) under the title *Economic Development in S. E. Europe* (Oxford University Press, 1945).

Clark University

OSCAR JÁSZI

THE RUSSIA I BELIEVE IN: THE MEMOIRS OF SAMUEL N. HARPER, 1902-1941. Edited by *Paul V. Harper*, with the assistance of Ronald Thompson. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1945. Pp. xiv, 279. \$3.50.)

THIS is a unique book on Russia, and only Sam Harper, among the many students of that country, under the tsars and under the Soviet regime, could have written it, or rather provided the material from which the able editors have put it together. For only he had the foresight, even genius, to appreciate the importance of Russia to the world, before its new "Days of Trouble," before the Revolution; and the patience and interest to follow through the years of the Soviet regime, the maturing economic, social, and political organism that we know as the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, now the second—or do some of us fear the first—most powerful country in the world.

It is obvious that Harper was a voluminous notetaker, diary-writer, and above all, a man interested to check and test his opinions and to verify his impressions by frequent trips to Russia, by constant and, toward the end, harmful reading, and by consultation with Russians, Germans, British, and Americans of all stations and social levels. It was only thus that he could constantly present to the world, in books, lectures, and articles, a running picture of events in Russia, the facts as distinguished from rumors, and the results even before they occurred, of some change of policy, some new law or decree, or some important *démarche* in the international policy of the country. Harper's chief subject of investigation and study, all through his life, was Russia's position in the world; and he must often have suffered isolation, or at least had a cold shoulder turned, when his opinions, fearlessly uttered, brought him in conflict with the public thought of the moment, with the ideas of his colleagues in the faculty of the University of Chicago, or with the State Department or the British Foreign Office. In retrospect, however, he can hardly have regretted the stand he took, for later events usually proved that he was more often right than his critics. Even when temporarily out of favor, he found ways to be busy, if not useful, and his books on *Civic Training in Soviet Russia* and *Making Bolsheviks*, which are more specifically studies in education, also reflect many other facets of the Soviet life, as it grew from infancy to manhood.

First and last, Harper's book is a history of Russia for the years during which he observed it. But it is also the life story of the author, from his first encounter with Charles R. Crane, already himself a seasoned Russian traveler, who remained a friend and patron until his death in 1939. Incidentally, a remark made by Mr. Crane might well be taken as a text, or rather slogan, for Harper's own belief in Russia; he told Harper not to get too discouraged—this was after the expulsion of Trotsky and purges of the late 30's—for "the Russian people are coming through and on top."

And the arresting characteristic of Sam Harper's book is his closeness to the Russian people, as distinct from the government, the bureaucrats, and such evi-

dences of change and seeming decay that others saw. He early joined the small company of students of Russia that looked beneath the surface for the almost unchangeable, as Sumner calls them, folkways of the Russians, habits of thought, action, and reaction that have prevailed for generations, regardless of the form of government or society in the ascendant, and that are pointed toward the good things of life for all, as they see them, with infinite patience and endurance. Wherever Harper went in Russia, he was always the center of a group, always listening and discussing with humor and tact but also with conviction when he had formed a definite opinion. But above all he based his opinions on ceaseless study and thought, on long personal experience, and on talks with thousands of people, from peasants to diplomats. Seldom has any American had, or rather made, the opportunity to become a Russian in thought and feeling, while remaining an alter ego, an objective observer of others and even of himself. It is this fascinating duality that made Harper so careful a recorder of events, so fair a judge of cause and effect, yet at the same time so vital and human a man that even the reticent Russians were persuaded to "tell him all."

This last book of Sam Harper's will be read eagerly and affectionately by all his myriad friends, who see in it, clearly mirrored, the man they knew. It should also be read by all those who are sincerely interested in Russia and the Russians, and wish to know, through the reports of a unique observer, more about the country which arouses so much distrust among some and hopefulness among others. Not all about Russia will be clear; but one can learn from this book much that will dispel the general ignorance that has prevailed in the United States since the days of George Kennan. And with understanding there may come light on the present and future relations, so important for world peace, of the United States and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

*Washington, D. C.*

ERNEST C. ROPES

## Far Eastern History

THE ECONOMIC HISTORY OF INDIA: 1600-1800. By *Radhakamal Mukerjee*, Professor and Head of the Department of Economics and Sociology, Lucknow University, India. [Memoir of the United Provinces Historical Society.] (Bombay: Longmans, Green and Company, Ltd. 1945. Pp. xxiii, 195. Rs. 7/8.)

PROFESSOR Mukerjee, who is well known for his extensive studies of economic and social problems, expresses the main thesis of his work as follows: "The seventeenth century saw India as the agricultural mother of Asia and the industrial workshop of the world. The end of the eighteenth century witnessed the rapid decline of Indian industries, complete ruin of Indian trade and shipping and the loss of political sovereignty."

At the outset the author gives a very interesting study of Moghul India from economic, social, and industrial points of view. After careful and painstaking analysis of data on the production of various crops, cultivated areas, and wages of the Moghul period, the author comes to the conclusion that "the real wages in the United Provinces, as measured in terms of the five principal food grains of Northern India, now are one half to two-fifths of those in Akbar's time" (p. 54). This will answer an often heard question: Is not the condition of the peasants of India better today than it used to be under the Moghul rule?

The last three chapters of the book—"Industries and Markets," "Trade and Commerce," and "Economic Decline"—provide readers with valuable information regarding India's place in world industry and commerce, and in the economic policy of the East India Company and the British government which led to the destruction of Indian industry: "India, up till the end of the 18th century, supplied the whole civilised world with her cotton goods; the volume of her cotton production and trade in cotton goods with countries from Siam to South Africa, and from the Moluccas to the Caspian Sea in the 17th and 18th centuries, is a most remarkable testimony to the industrial skill and enterprise of Indians and represents an outstanding fact in the world's industrial and commercial history."

It was as late as 1771 when England first produced pure cotton cloth. Even during the early days of Britain's Industrial Revolution, Indian textile goods were cheaper in British markets than British goods. To check the import of Indian textiles, in 1779 the import duties were raised in England on "plain white calicoes." In this connection it may be stated with authority that

the cotton and silk goods of India up to the beginning of the nineteenth century could be sold in the British market at a price from 50 to 60 per cent lower than those fabricated in England. It consequently became necessary to protect the latter by duties of 70 or 80 per cent on their value or by positive prohibition. Had this not been the case, had not such prohibitory duties and decrees existed, the mills of Paisley and Manchester would have stopped in their outset and could hardly have been again set in motion, even by the powers of steam. . . . The political subordination of India not only led to the strangulation of India's European trade, but at home she was left completely at the mercy of England who forced upon her cotton piece-goods without the payment of any duty. Meanwhile the loss of Indian shipping and British competition also led to the loss of her nearer markets in Africa, Persia, Farther India and the Indian Archipelago that had for centuries depended upon her hand-loom products. The consequences of the rapid decline and eventual loss of her export trade of between 53 million to 63 million square yards of cloth made in Indian cottages and *Karkhanas* on the economic structure and general condition of employment in the country, especially in a period when the population was increasing by leaps and bounds, can better be imagined. Such misfortune is unprecedented in the world's economic history [pp. 162-63].

The book contains several valuable maps of trade routes and sea routes giving indication of India's position in world commerce in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The book is a valuable contribution to the study of the economic history



of India in this period. An extended bibliography would have considerably enhanced its value.

*New York University*

TARAKNATH DAS

INDIA AND THE INDIAN OCEAN: AN ESSAY ON THE INFLUENCE OF SEA POWER ON INDIAN HISTORY. By K. M. Panikkar. (New York: Macmillan Company. 1945. Pp. 109. \$1.75.)

THE author of this small volume is a distinguished Hindu scholar, publicist, and writer of several books on various phases of Indian history. In the volume under review, the author shows his knowledge of India's relation to world history and world politics as influenced by the Indian Ocean. This is by far the best discussion on the subject known to the reviewer. It should be carefully read by all students interested in the highly important subject—India's role in world politics.

Mr. Panikkar opens with the famous saying of Khairuddin Barbarosa to Suleiman the Magnificent: "He who rules on the sea will shortly rule on the land also," and goes on to show how the power that controls the Indian Ocean will control the political and economic destiny of India. From the fourth century B.C., or earlier, until the discovery of a sea route to India by the Portuguese, Hindu India was a sea power with colonies around the Indian Ocean. As long as India maintained her sea power, she was not conquered by any European power. India was invaded by land; but the invaders by land were absorbed by India, whereas those who invaded India by sea remained alien. The struggles between the Portuguese, the Dutch, the British, and the French for the mastery of trade in Asia were also for the control of the Indian Ocean.

British supremacy in India and regions east and west of India is due to the fact that between the defeat of the French during the Napoleonic War and the fall of Singapore to the Japanese in 1942, the Indian Ocean remained a "British lake." The importance of the British navy in the defense of India is often ignored by British militarists and Indian nationalists. The author expresses his views in the following significant sentences:

While to other countries, the Indian Ocean is only one of the important oceanic areas, to India it is the vital sea. Her life lines are concentrated in that area. Her future is dependent on the freedom of that vast water surface. No industrial development, no commercial growth, no stable political structure is possible for her unless the Indian Ocean is free and her own shores fully protected. The Indian Ocean must therefore remain truly Indian [p. 84].

Mr. Panikkar advocates that for her own defense and for the peace of Southeast Asia, the Middle East, and the Near East, India with her strategic position, economic resources, and vast population should develop her naval power in order to maintain her supremacy in the Indian Ocean. This can be done not by India alone but by India in co-operation with the British Commonwealth of Nations.



Three appendixes on the "Imperial Reorganization" of the British Commonwealth, on the basis of regional organizations and interregional co-operation under a supreme political council, are interesting and indicate that the author has given considerable thought to the subject. He holds that in the reorganization of the British Commonwealth India must enjoy regional autonomy and equal status with other independent units of the empire.

New York University

TARAKNATH DAS

TEN YEARS IN JAPAN: A CONTEMPORARY RECORD FROM THE DIARIES AND PRIVATE AND OFFICIAL PAPERS OF JOSEPH C. GREW, UNITED STATES AMBASSADOR TO JAPAN, 1932-1942. (New York: Simon and Schuster. 1944. Pp. xii, 554. \$3.75.)

*Ten Years in Japan* is drawn from the private diary of Joseph C. Grew, who served as American ambassador to Japan for nearly ten years immediately prior to the attack on Pearl Harbor. The original diary comprises thirteen large volumes of typewritten pages. Obviously, this day-to-day account is one of the most important primary sources of information regarding the events leading to American participation in World War II. The diary elucidates and supplements the two volumes of the *Papers Relating to the Foreign Relations of the United States: Japan, 1931-1941* released by the United States Department of State in 1943. Indeed, it gives new meaning to many of the dispatches found in the official record.

Grew was a career officer in the United States Foreign Service. A student of Groton School and graduate of Harvard University, he began his diplomatic and consular career in 1904 as a clerk to the American consul general in Cairo. In World War I, he was counselor in the American embassy in Berlin. He participated in the Paris Peace Conference in 1919 and represented the United States in the negotiations with Turkey in 1922. Recalled to Washington to serve as Undersecretary of State, he was again sent to European capitals and was serving as ambassador to Turkey when, in 1932, he was transferred to Tokyo. He was, at this time, one of the two or three top career men in the American diplomatic service. Grew's appointment as ambassador had been made by President Hoover; even greater confidence was extended by President Roosevelt, who kept him in his far eastern assignment to the very end.

The *Ten Years in Japan* does not have the earmarks of an apologia. In a small volume entitled *Report from Tokyo*, published in 1942, Ambassador Grew attempted to assist the war effort in the United States by impressing the American people with the formidable character, the brutality, and the fanatical determination of the Japanese military machine. In the *Ten Years in Japan*, the ambassador sought to promote not only the drive for the unconditional surrender of Japan but also the reconstruction of peace at the end of hostilities. Toward this ultimate

end, one of the purposes of the book, in the words of Ambassador Grew, was to tell Americans that "there are many Japanese today who did not want war, who realized the stupidity of attacking the United States, Great Britain and other United Nations, and who did everything in their power to restrain the military extremists from their headlong and suicidal aggressions."

The ambassador tells a straightforward story interspersed with philosophic comments on world events. He had been sent to Tokyo to accomplish an impossible twofold purpose, namely: (1) to keep the peace in the Orient, and (2) to preserve American interests in Asia. He had been originally chosen by a President who lacked the courage or the statesmanship to block the Japanese robbery of Manchuria in 1931-1933, an aggression that probably could have been thwarted by the simple application of economic and financial sanctions. He was kept at his post in Tokyo by another President, who thought it necessary to appease Japan while he prepared the country for war and carried out his magnificent campaign to educate the American people regarding the menace of Nazi Germany. Naturally Ambassador Grew failed to achieve his impossible mission. Although his failure was inevitable, it would be difficult to name any other American who could have given a better performance in the Tokyo embassy. Mr. Grew was handicapped by lack of facility in the Japanese language. But he had the advantage of competent assistants like Edwin L. Neville and Eugene H. Dooman, whose knowledge of the Japanese language and traditions was extensive. The ranks of the diplomatic service would be searched in vain to find a man who could have represented the United States with more prestige, propriety, and advantage than the author of the diary here reviewed.

From the beginning of his mission, Grew had no illusions regarding the militarists, chauvinists, and fascist-minded bureaucrats in Japan. The diary shows that he fathomed the characters of Generals Minami, Hayashi, Araki, Terauchi, and Togo. He had the measure of such bureaucrats as Arita and of such political adventurers as Konoye, both of whom were hand in glove with the military clique. In dispatch after dispatch, the ambassador informed his government of Japanese treachery and the menace of surprise attack. In March, 1933, he condemned the fortification of Yap and other mandated islands in contravention of treaty obligations (pp. 84-85). In January, 1941, he informed his government of rumors "that the Japanese, in case of a break with the United States, are planning to go all out in a surprise mass attack on Pearl Harbor." This statement in the diary (p. 368) is corroborated by a dispatch in *Foreign Relations: Japan, 1931-1941* (II, 133). On November 3, 1941, the ambassador telegraphed Washington that the war might come with dangerous and dramatic suddenness (pp. 467-70).

President Truman has recently said, with considerable justification, that the principal cause of the disaster to American naval and military units at Pearl Harbor was the pacifist and nonalert attitude of the American people. Ambassador

Grew possessed a similar realistic view of American public opinion. It was useless to talk boldly to Japanese militarists when both Congress and the American people were enveloped in pacifism and isolation. Resignedly the ambassador recorded in his diary (in July, 1938, after three long interviews with the Japanese foreign minister in which he protested the bombing of civilian populations in China and the flagrant violation of open-door pledges): "Until the Japanese have reason to feel that the United States will do something about it, we can expect few constructive results" (p. 252). Indeed the State Department could not be expected to go faster in opposition to Japanese aggression than American public opinion. Some newspapermen and college professors blinked this reality and demanded instant defiance of Nippon. But not so Secretary Cordell Hull and our ambassador in Tokyo. Hull's famous note of November 26, 1941, was as far from an ultimatum to Japan as a lyric poem is remote from a declaration of war. The diary shows that while Grew had a clear notion of the fanatical loyalty of the Japanese people to the emperor, he fully realized that the Tenno was merely a constitutional monarch if not a puppet of the palace officials (the *naidaijin*, the *kunaidajin*, and the *jijuchō*), who in turn bowed alternately before the militarists, the bureaucrats, and the politicians—the latter being dominated by the *zaibatsu* or commercial houses. He had a full understanding of Japanese politics and of the forces behind the Shidehara diplomacy of friendship for China on the one hand and behind the *coup d'état* whereby the military clique in 1931 destroyed the parliamentary government on the other hand.

The diary ends with May, 1942, several months before Ambassador Grew and his staff were released from Japanese custody and returned to the United States on the S.S. *Gripsholm*. It is to be hoped that at some appropriate time a sequel to the diary will be published, covering the years when Grew served as special assistant to the Secretary of State and finally as Acting Secretary of State. The culmination of his career is to be found, not in the failure of the mission to Tokyo but rather in the development of the formula of the Allied acceptance of the Japanese request in August, 1945, to modify unconditional surrender, by an agreement for the retention of the emperor as the titular sovereign of Nippon. Grew always held that the final disposition of the imperial throne was a question to be determined only by the Japanese people. At the same time, he believed that the emperor would prove, during the American military occupation of Japan, a potent means of restoring order and re-establishing parliamentary government. This story of the formulation of this important policy remains to be told. In the meanwhile, historians will be grateful for the publication of the diary that throws light on the prewar diplomacy of America and Japan.

Northwestern University

KENNETH COLEGROVE

## American History

MEN OF SCIENCE IN AMERICA: THE ROLE OF SCIENCE IN THE GROWTH OF OUR COUNTRY. By *Bernard Jaffe*. (New York: Simon and Schuster. 1944. Pp. xl, 600. \$3.75.)

Mr. Jaffe, already well known for his effective popular works on the history of chemistry, essays here a survey of the role of science throughout American history. It is pointed out in the introduction that professional scientists and historians, as well as the public, have remained ignorant of American scientific achievements; and that "historians of the United States have, with glaring uniformity, underestimated the importance of these [scientific] men to the development of our country." This, to the reviewer, somewhat hurts a good case by overstating it. Scholars may differ as to just what constitutes underestimation, but it is only necessary to glance through some of the volumes of the "History of American Life" series in order to find marked appreciation of science and of scientists. Stated more moderately, the thesis that science merits more attention than has usually been accorded it in American history would probably be accepted by historians themselves. As a matter of fact, this view has been stressed in various articles and committee reports published by professional historians over the last decade.

Mr. Jaffe is fully aware that the principles long applied to political history should also be followed in presenting the story of science; that is, both the internal development of the immediate subject and its external relations with economic and social conditions should be covered and correlated. His narrative is focused on nineteen scientists who are considered outstanding and typical of various fields and periods. These subjects are arranged in chronological sequence, beginning with Thomas Harriot of Virginia (naturalist and mathematician, 1560-1621) and ending with Ernest O. Lawrence (nuclear physicist, 1901-). But the story is not limited to the careers of the nineteen heroes. In each case the individual's work is related to the history of his field—frequently a European story—and to the background of national developments. The synthesis is therefore a comprehensive one, remarkable for its inclusion of both the physical and biological sciences as well as for its sweep in time.

The style is distinctly readable, and the author provides sufficient biographical details to lend a human and realistic setting. The nature of the particular problems confronting each man, that is, the relation of each scientist to certain aspects of the history of his field, is always noted. This is well illustrated, for example, in the treatment of Morgan's work in genetics. The reader will usually feel that he knows why things went as they did, and not merely what the outcomes were. But there is no attempt to "jazz up" the story by dramatization or distortion. The book is replete with interesting and little-known details, and is well illus-

trated. In a word, here is authentic popularization of just the sort that is needed.

Viewed on its merits as an attempt at synthesis, rather than as popularization, the study is inevitably open to criticism. The biographical approach, while doubtless the easiest and perhaps the only one that can be employed in such pioneer works, has its limitations. The subject selected may or may not bring out all the major developments in a given field. If not, some of these must either be omitted or dragged in as afterthoughts—in which case the story does not hang together. The specialist in a particular science will sometimes find, moreover, that the author does not fully bring out what the chief issues or influences actually were in that field. The foreground of events is clearly presented but its relation to the larger background may, despite the best intentions, remain obscure.

Since the reviewer happens to be more familiar with the medical story, this may be used to illustrate these comments. The author selects William T. G. Morton—a dentist—as an illustration of the medical history of the mid-nineteenth century. Into this chapter, with no relation to Morton, are brought isolated accounts of McDowell's surgery, Beaumont's physiological experiments, Drake's geo-medicine, and Holmes's paper on obstetrics. There then follows the well-known story of anesthesia. These do not hang together for the simple reason that the major trends in medicine are completely missed. The reader will see only so many episodes in medical history.

The correlation of science with general American history is also unsatisfactory at points. This is true of both content and arrangement. Thus, achievements in surgery are vaguely ascribed, as is often done, to the frontier environment. While this may have some validity in individual cases, it fails to explain the basic fact that American surgery was primarily dependent upon European until almost the end of the nineteenth century. Again, to employ a broader illustration, the lag in pure science in this country is given a conventional explanation in terms of preoccupation with material expansion. While this also may be partly valid, it fails to explain why the British—who were also preoccupied with material expansion—achieved more. The possible role of aristocratic traditions in Britain, and of their lack in the United States, seems to have been overlooked.

The arrangement of references to the general historical background is most casual at times. Thus, in the chapter cited, the theme of anesthesia is followed—for no apparent reason except that the dates coincide—by a discussion of California and the Mexican War. The only connection established with the chapter's main theme is the fact that western settlers took along drugs and family medical manuals! This, incidentally, is a rather tenuous thread on which to leave American medicine dangling for the rest of the century.

It is only fair to add that in other connections, as in the discussion of Darwinian influences on racial theories, the impact of science on social attitudes or conditions is directly established. The main trends in certain physical sciences, so far as the reviewer can judge, also seem to be brought out more effectively than

is the case with medicine. But here too there are lapses. Not even a talent for popularization can yet translate Willard Gibbs for the layman.

As implied, Mr. Jaffe shows a remarkable familiarity with many fields. The difficulties in dealing with a dozen subjects in relation to the whole of American history are so great, however, that the question must be seriously raised: Has the time yet arrived when any one scholar can achieve this complex synthesis? The author has made a broadly visioned, pioneer attempt, has presented a stimulating popularization, and has pointed the need for further studies. It seems likely that the latter will call for co-operative effort if a fully critical, comprehensive, and integrated account is to be attained.

*University of Pennsylvania*

RICHARD HARRISON SHRYOCK

SCIENTIFIC SOCIETIES IN THE UNITED STATES. By *Ralph S. Bates*.

[A Publication of the Technology Press, Massachusetts Institute of Technology.] (New York: John Wiley and Sons. 1945. Pp. vii, 246. \$3.50.)

THE cover of this book states that it is a "full-scale account of the evolution of American scientific organizations including the main national scientific societies, and the state, local, specialized and technological societies," and the preface states that, "as hitherto no extensive account of the history and work of American scientific societies has appeared perhaps this book on the subject will help to fill a gap in the literature dealing with the intellectual history of our country."

This is certainly a large and ambitious undertaking in view of the great number of such societies and the detailed histories of many of them. *The Handbook of Scientific and Technological Societies of the United States and Canada* (4th edition; Bulletin of the National Research Council, No. 106; Washington, 1942) contains data on 1,269 such societies of the United States and its dependencies, and 90 such in Canada. This handbook lists alphabetically each of these organizations giving the name and address of its secretary, a brief mention of its history, object, membership, meetings, research funds, medals, etc., and publications. A similar *Handbook of Learned Societies and Institutions—America* was issued by the Carnegie Institution of Washington (Publication No. 39, 1908), listing at that date 873 such societies and giving information as to history, objects, meetings, membership, publications, and research funds and prizes of each of these organizations. That the book here reviewed cannot be a "full-scale account of the evolution of American scientific organizations" is at once apparent from the fact that the body of the work contains only 192 pages in which are mentioned, frequently in a single line, some 500 scientific organizations. Emphasis is placed on the evolution and history of various classes of societies, such as those of national, state, or local scope, and those devoted to special fields, such as medicine, agriculture, manufacturing, commerce, etc. Even as so classified and limited it is not possible in the

brief space allotted to each of these classes to give more than a very brief mention of their evolution and history.

The book deals not only with the development of scientific societies in the United States but also, and perhaps necessarily, with the development of science and technology throughout the world. This development is divided into four stages treated in four successive chapters: "Scientific Societies in Eighteenth Century America," in which some thirty societies are mentioned in twenty-seven pages; "National Growth, 1800-1865," which treats of the world-wide development of specialized sciences and the organization of many national and local societies and publications in some nine geographical regions of this country; the "Triumph of Specialization, 1866-1918," in the period between the end of the Civil War and the close of World War I, characterized by increasing specialization of scientific societies and the growth of cities, industries, and research foundations; and finally "American Scientific Societies and World Science, 1919-1944," treating of the history and philosophy of science and naming some of the leading scientific men and achievements of this period.

This division of a continuous process into four stages, with the many repetitions which it involves, is not only wasteful of space but is confusing to one who is interested in the history of any one society or group of sciences; and when to this repetition there is added the lack of uniform classification in each stage of the development, the final result is a grand mixup.

The author has evidently struggled with the problem as to what organizations should be included under the rubric "societies." Educational institutions are generally omitted, but research institutions and foundations are often included, although there are some notable omissions. For example, there is no mention of the Marine Biological Laboratory at Woods Hole, Massachusetts, although it is one of the most important associations of biologists in the world, consisting of nearly 400 members of the corporation, 40 trustees, and about 500 investigators and students. Likewise, no other "laboratories" are mentioned, but "associations," "institutions," "organizations," even "clubs" and "fraternities" are often included.

A final chapter deals with the "Increase and Diffusion of Knowledge" through scientific meetings, journals, institutions, libraries, grants, medals, etc. A bibliography of twenty-seven pages contains references to several hundred books and articles. In general, the work is well documented.

*Princeton University*

EDWIN G. CONKLIN

PORTRAIT OF NEW NETHERLAND. By *Ellis Lawrence Raesly*. [Columbia University Studies in English and Comparative Literature, Number 161.] (New York: Columbia University Press. 1945. Pp. vi, 370. \$4.00.)

THIS work differs from others on the brief period of New Netherland history. Its title, *Portrait of New Netherland*, is an unhappy one for a book without



illustrations, maps, or plans. It is, in fact, as its dust wrapper and publishers' circular announce, a "portrayal in words" of "the spiritual life and thought of our Dutch ancestors, their social and political philosophy, their exchange of ideas with the Indians, and their literary aspirations. It reveals the soul of New Netherland." It is "based on a careful study of the written records" that have been printed, "left by seafarers, colonists, political figures, missionaries, court secretaries, notaries, and men of literature," among whom were, more than others, the common folk of laborers, tradesmen, farmers, tapsters, and the soldiers and menial servants of the Dutch West India Company. A very small proportion of these individuals have contributed descendants to the twentieth century in America. Dr. Raesly stresses too much a claim for them, and one could wish that he had not fallen so much in love with the old New Netherland Dutch as to become so definitely their apologist. Edward Eggleston, the father of American social history, has said that hero worship of one's ancestry may be a fit act of diluvial piety but that it is none the less reprehensible in the true historian. It is a far cry from the seventeenth to the twentieth century. The Dutch strain that has come down from New Netherland is the survival of the fittest, commingled with other strains by marriage to produce, with all inheritances, an American. Already after 1640 New Netherland in its small population was cosmopolitan. One gets no inkling of that from this book.

The organization of Raesly's work consists of less than a dozen chapters, any one of which could be issued as a separate monograph. Here is an analysis: (1) "Seafarers and Logbook Keepers" has some originality in telling of the voyages and skippers of Dutch ships, in which Skipper De Vries is particularly well done. (2) "Rhapsodists and Reconnoiterers" summarizes the descriptions of writings of Dutch and other contemporaries respecting the topographic and living advantages of New Netherland, among others Isaac de Rasière, De Laet, De Vries, Isaac Jogues, and Van der Donck. (3) "Political Figures before Stuyvesant" considers briefly the origin of patroonships, gives a good analysis of Kieft's personality and actions, and reviews the lethargic administration of Van Twiller and the arrogant destructive acts of Kieft. (4) "Stuyvesant and Sons of Liberty" is a good account of Van der Donck's contribution in bringing about reforms in the province. His analysis of Stuyvesant's regime as director general, so largely drawn from his accusers, is perhaps the most scathing yet written. It is an ugly story and gives little credit to Stuyvesant's defense. There is no doubt that the scandalous behavior of Van Tienhoven as Stuyvesant's defender militated against him; but there was much that was commendable in Stuyvesant's long administration. Van Tienhoven was a scoundrel, and properly expiated his crimes by committing, like Judas Iscariot, suicide. (5) "Stuyvesant and the British Scissors" means that the British cut off places they seized from New Netherland during Stuyvesant's regime. (6) "Plain People and a Few Felons," a chapter on social aberrations, is mainly devoted to marriage customs and sex scandals, as exhibited

on record in trite cases of youth and incontinences among the married folk. (7) "Pagans and Black Gowns" means Indians and Jesuits. Raesly gives full credit to the stature of Captain Martin Kregier as a soldier and an administrator in civil affairs. (8) "Men of Religion and a Handful of Sceptics" is an interesting and well-thought-out chapter. (9) "Bookish People and the Circulation of Ideas" is principally the history of schools and schoolmasters. (10) "The New Netherland Muse" is the longest chapter (69 pp.) and will perhaps have least interest for the average reader; but for the litterateur it will bring a good analysis of a sort of Dutch poetry which Raesly thinks is rather mediocre. He has sought to redress it in English by his own translations or revisions of former translations, and enriches it by his critiques as well as by remarks upon the lives of the poets, Jacob Steendam, Nicasius de Sille, and Domine Henricus Selijns. From page 295 the account of De Sille is indeed an illuminating reconstruction from the scattered records, some of recent discovery, of him as a person and public official. But on pages 304-305 Raesly assumes what *might* have taken place at New Amsterdam taverns, at *supposed* gatherings of clergy, including the Reverend Richard Denton, founder of American Presbyterianism at faraway Hempstead, and the upper crust of civilians, all of which is just an imaginary picturing without any factual evidence. Such liberty may be allowable in a writer of fiction but is not proper in a real historian.

The manuscript should have been more carefully checked, and the printer's proofs more carefully read, to avoid errors of fact or of the press, of which there are too many to be excused or to be enumerated in the space allotted to this review. They occur in the acknowledgments, the text, notes, bibliography, and index, and they are various in kind. Besides typographical errors there are those of names, dates, and statements. But the author can write well. Often he holds attention by his brilliant picturesqueness. His book fills a need, and if revised with the friendly aid of the less than half a dozen competent specialists in this limited field of New York's beginnings under the Dutch West India Company, it will long hold a place in New York's historiography.

*Jamaica, New York*

VICTOR HUGO PALTSITS

THE SCOTCH-IRISH OF COLONIAL PENNSYLVANIA. By *Wayland F. Dunaway*. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 1944. Pp. vi, 273. \$3.00.)

WE are all foreign born or the descendants of foreign born. We are a great people composed of many and diverse racial stocks and cultures, strands of various sizes and colors woven together. The Scotsmen from Ulster must be counted among those who have generously and significantly contributed to the unfolding of American civilization. And yet the author holds the view that historians have done less than justice to the merits of this group. If this be so, the purpose of the

book to remedy the case is well taken. To begin with, a chapter of length dispels the common view that Sandy and Pat were one and the same. It is made clear that the Scotsman was no hyphenated Irishman but always a Scot as he crossed from the Lowlands to Ulster and then sailed the sea to America.

Crossing the sea did not change the breed. Hardened by painful experiences in Ulster, he was of the stuff of which worthy pioneers were made. His forthright individualism would not permit him to bend to the intolerable conditions imposed by arbitrary English rule. A chapter gives the conditions which compelled about a quarter of a million to leave Ireland to find a deliverance and an opportunity in America. And the volume makes clear that the Scotch-Irishman was no hyphenated American. He gave fully of his talents in the making of a new society, showing a peculiar genius in law and politics, religion and education, and in many lines which added to the richness of life in the new land.

The colony of Pennsylvania offered the best opportunities and here they settled in large numbers and played an important role. A wealth of detail recounts their dispersion through the province from the Susquehanna to the Alleghany. These restless, adventurous people were not content to remain localized but pushed on into the southern valleys and foothills and thence westward, and as they scattered they extended their influence in society.

The author has wrought in the spirit of sound scholarship. The stature of the Scotch-Irish in our history does not need to be judged in the glow of filial affection. The book shows evidence of a careful search for all available material. Manuscript sources were used, and especially helpful were the many valuable articles by local historians. One may inquire the reason for the omission of the great religious awakening which played a large role in the history of Scotch-Irish Presbyterianism. There is no question but that the Scotch-Irishmen had bitter and justified grievances against the arbitrary rule of a dominant eastern aristocracy in Pennsylvania. The author's account, however, leaves the impression that his heart is with the Paxton Boys and in this the author lacks somewhat of the judicial temperament. Taken as a whole the volume is well done and well worth the doing.

*University of Iowa*

WINFRED T. ROOT

BYWAYS IN QUAKER HISTORY: A COLLECTION OF HISTORICAL ESSAYS BY COLLEAGUES AND FRIENDS OF WILLIAM I. HULL. Edited by *Howard H. Brinton*. (Wallingford, Pa.: Pendle Hill. 1944. Pp. x, 246.)

THIS is an excellent book both in content and typography. It is a worthy tribute to a thorough scholar and the revered professor of history at Swarthmore College. It was brought together by Howard Brinton, scholar, spiritual leader, and author, who is director of Pendle Hill, a Quaker adult center for study at Wallingford, Pennsylvania.

Janet Whitney, authoress, writes a very human account of Dr. Hull which will warm the hearts of those who knew him and make all realize the appropriateness of this memorial volume. Dr. Rufus Jones, emeritus professor of philosophy at Haverford College and an internationally known Quaker spiritual leader and author, tells of the heretofore little disclosed aspects of Whittier's religious faith. Dr. Henry J. Cadbury, Hollis Professor of Divinity in Harvard University, adds new light upon Whittier's life by his piece on the poet's historical bent, and C. Marshall Taylor, prominent businessman rounds out a trilogy of importance by discussing Whittier as a politician.

One of the outstanding pieces is on "The Career of Elias Hicks" by D. Elton Trueblood, professor of the philosophy of religion and chaplain of Stanford University. This too much neglected subject (there is no biography, and Dr. Trueblood pleads for one), the hero of a famous controversy, was a leader who exerted a profound influence upon the Society of Friends and was far ahead of his times in his thinking. The emeritus president of Haverford College, Dr. William Wistar Comfort, gives us much new light upon French and German Friends in the early nineteenth century, which is particularly interesting on account of the present revival of the faith in those countries. Thomas E. Drake, associate professor of American history in Haverford College, tells of Elihu Coleman, a too little known Quaker antislavery leader of Nantucket; Charles F. Jenkins, president of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, of James Logan and his beautiful home at "Stenton," Philadelphia, so well preserved; and the late Charles M. Andrews, formerly professor of history at Bryn Mawr, Johns Hopkins, and Yale, has a very new and interesting subject in "The Quakers in London and Their Printers There."

Two stimulating articles are by Dr. Brand Blanshard, formerly professor of philosophy at Swarthmore, now at Yale, and Dr. Frank Aydelotte, late president of Swarthmore and now director of the Institute for Advanced Study at Princeton, New Jersey. Dr. Blanshard's piece is a long, thorough, and scholarly treatment of a spiritual matter. But it is in qualified hands and his conclusion is "the Light is intelligence at its best and wisest." "God is forever reason," he quotes, "and his communication, his revelation, is reason, but reason as taking a body from, and giving life to, the whole system of experience which makes the history of man." This is a new aspect of Quakerism. Dr. Aydelotte's presentation of "G. Fox" is a lively, succinct account of a virile, spiritual leader, the founder of Quakerism. It is justified and most appropriate. Its tone is all too rare in depicting these early Quakers who were brave, vigorous heroes, not gentle, stained-glass saints. George Walton, principal of George School, Pennsylvania, tells of two rural Quaker meetings and in so doing presents a thumbnail picture of early Quakerism in Pennsylvania and New Jersey.

The book ends with a delightful essay, "Quaker Journalists," by its editor. He had a rich field in which to browse and obviously could only hesitate here

and there. It is a pity he overlooked William Edmundson, the "Voice of Thunder." These old journals are fascinating and deserve all that this essayist says of them. The book is properly dedicated to Hannah Clothier Hull and has a bibliography.

*Philadelphia, Pennsylvania*

HORACE MATHER LIPPINCOTT

THE HOUSE OF HANCOCK: BUSINESS IN BOSTON, 1724-1775. By *W. T. Baxter*, Professor of Accounting, University of Cape Town. [Harvard Studies in Business History, Volume X.] (Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1945. Pp. xxvii, 321. \$3.50.)

A NEW book on Hancock deserves careful examination as he is the one Revolutionary leader that has no serious biography. The author of this volume is professor of accounting at the University of Cape Town. There is a very complimentary introduction by Professor Gras.

Ten of the fifteen chapters, 223 pages, deal with the development of the business under Thomas Hancock, and five chapters, 70 pages, describe the mercantile career of John Hancock. There is a final chapter of "conclusions."

Sources used are the hitherto unexploited Hancock manuscripts: ledgers, journals, letter books, and receipt books. Practically no use has been made of contemporary newspapers and pamphlets. Relevant British legislation is cited from secondary accounts; and the Treasury Papers, frequently cited in the later chapters, apparently have been consulted chiefly in the extracts available in Boston.

The chapters dealing with Thomas Hancock are a real contribution to American business history. Historians will welcome the detailed descriptions of the informal partnerships; the use of agents in England, Amsterdam, and the West Indies; the extreme use of credit; and the substitution of barter for money payments.

Thomas accumulated the greater part of his fortune from some profitable smuggling of a few articles, especially between 1742 and 1744, and from government contracts to supply the armed forces in America. These were supplemented by equally profitable contracts for the government-sponsored settlement in Nova Scotia. Such contracts covered a period of twenty years. In addition there were large profits from exchange and from the free use of government transports for his own goods. Contracts were secured by political pull, bribery, and similar methods. It is a thoroughly crass story of war profiteering. The same political influences that secured the government contracts seem to have insured protection for his smuggling ventures. Investments in copper mining, iron and paper manufacture, and the making of potash were generally unprofitable.

The chapters dealing with John throw much light upon his business organization, the loyalty of his employees, his development of ships for a common carrier service, his large trade in whale oil, and his promotion of the whaling industry. In contrast with Thomas he had no government contracts and had to operate in

the face of hostile political influences. The fact that his agents in England were active leaders in the parliamentary Whig opposition made his personal protests more effective than many colonial resolutions and may have involved additional business risks.

The sections dealing with John's clash with the customs commissioners, 1768–1769, makes much material in the *Proceedings* of the Massachusetts Historical Society more available. The author contributes nothing new concerning this episode. He did not discover that the *Liberty* was confiscated on a charge other than smuggling months before the start of the suit against Hancock or that the attack was largely political and that the case was closed so that it could not be reopened. He devotes considerable space to the important opinion of the colonial attorney general in the case of the *Lydia*, but garbles the opinion, states its conclusions incorrectly, and misses the most important point. A careful use of the Treasury Papers and the admiralty court records in Boston would have avoided these errors.

There are some errors that editing should have eliminated: "gooseberry trees" (p. 67); Chambers "dictionary" for encyclopedia (p. 69); molasses as an article that brought a "high price" in Boston (p. 85); "hier" interpreted as "have" instead of the obvious "hire" (p. 88); the frequent use of the personal pronouns; hustling of Owen Richards on the *Lydia* as the first physical resistance to British officials (p. 261); the seized *Liberty* converted into the *Gaspee* (p. 268); seizure of John's "ships" (p. 269) while there was but one; the table on page 158 and the chart on page 238 do not agree, and it is almost impossible to know what kind of "pounds" are meant—old tenor, lawful money, or sterling. Some of these are only minor, others seriously affect the meaning.

The most serious limitation is the author's intensely hostile attitude toward John. He is presented as a pariah for joining the patriot cause (pp. 283–85). His business ventures are all pictured as failures, although the data supplied seem to warrant an exactly opposite interpretation. Subjective measures of attainment are used without being defined. After all what is success? Is it merely a favorable balance sheet regardless of the methods used? According to the data supplied, John built and employed more ships than did Thomas; he did more business between 1765 and 1770 than did Thomas during any similar period; he employed many more workers; he aided many more young men to start in business for themselves; and finally he completely liquidated the firm's London debts just ahead of the Revolution. What other American merchant living at the same time did as much?

The closing of the mercantile business in 1774 is ascribed to John's incompetence, but how could such a business have been continued at Boston at that time? To prove that John was a wastrel the author states that the estate he inherited had a value of "£70,000, Mass." according to "gossip" (p. 224), and states that the probated will "valued the estate at less than £40,000"—kind not

stated (p. 292). No comparison can be made between such purported measures of value. Reference is made to John's "far flung estates" (p. 292). It is regretted that the author did not describe these estates, tell us how and by whom they were acquired and their value, and thus give us some basis for an opinion as to just what happened. An accountant is expected to supply exact information and not statements of his personal likes and dislikes.

*Colorado State College of Education*

O. M. DICKERSON

TOM PAINE: AMERICA'S GODFATHER, 1737-1809. By *W. E. Woodward*. (New York: E. P. Dutton and Company. 1945. Pp. 359. \$3.50.)

THIS is a fairly short summary of Paine's life, written for the general reader and designed to correct the popular impression that Paine was a "filthy little atheist." The author is serious about this matter, and although the narrative is highly readable, there is no wisecracking smartness about it. Indeed Mr. Woodward is at times exasperated with the detractors of Paine and writes with force. There is a genuine and successful effort to recapture the living Paine, the human being with his faults and his weaknesses fairly set forth and not distorted.

On Paine's personal habits and appearance, for example, the following passage is typical of the author's method and style:

Paine met many people while he was a guest at the Executive Mansion (in 1803). . . . Some of those who met Paine wrote their impressions of him, and not one of them said he was filthy, or a drunkard, or that his manners were bad. On the contrary, they were impressed by his interesting conversations and his anecdotes. He was good-humored, polite, and attentive. Also—he was always clean-shaven, neatly dressed, his face washed, his hair combed and brushed.

Mr. Woodward denies that Paine drank to excess or was filthy in his personal habits except during the last three years of his life when "he was desperately ill, was dying slowly, and was too weak to keep himself clean." The charge that Paine seduced Mrs. Bonneville, was the father of her son Thomas, and brought her to America as his mistress he dismisses with the flat statement that Paine was "not that sort of man," and adds that Mrs. Bonneville won a suit against James Cheetam, author of the libel.

It is in this restoration of Paine the man that the book makes its best contribution. On the side of Paine's influence there is the natural overemphasis of this type of biography. The thesis of the book in these particulars is set out in the introduction:

That he inspired the Declaration of Independence and is the godfather of the free American Nation is either unknown or disregarded. That he was the most potent advocate during the whole of the eighteenth century for human freedom, equality of men, free education, universal suffrage, and rights of women is also a neglected fact.



That is a strong statement to make of a man who lived in the same century with Rousseau on one side of the Atlantic and Jefferson on the other. Woodward touches on Paine's many interests in some detail and fairly points out that his "mechanicall scheems," his iron bridge, his idea of a united nations, and a united nations flag, were simply precocious notions that had no more influence on his generation than his idea of woman's rights or universal suffrage.

*Vanderbilt University*

PHILIP DAVIDSON

THE MIDWEST PIONEER: HIS ILLS, CURES, AND DOCTORS. By *Madge E. Pickard* and *R. Carlyle Buley*. (Crawfordsville, Ind.: R. E. Banta. 1945. Pp. 339. \$5.00.)

THIS volume is no compendium of pioneer medicine in the earlier Middle West, but it is an excellent cross section of much in the realm of medicine in that region and period. The reader will find reference to almost anything from the common diseases and home remedies to the fads and fancies of the healing art. Portions of the subject are treated somewhat anthologically, *i.e.*, numerous illustrative passages are quoted, but the parts so handled are tied together by appropriate descriptive and expository paragraphs or racy accounts of leading characters and significant events.

Indeed, this medical story of the early middle western pioneer seems to be just what its authors say it is: "a by-product of more extensive work in the field of middle western history." This admission on the part of the authors is in no sense discrediting, for in this study they have repeatedly exhibited the marks of historical scholarship. Even though the authors make "no pretense of being exhaustive" their efforts should not and never will be confused with the reminiscences of the doting surgeon or the historical writings of the uninitiated physician-historiographer, both of whom from time to time clutter the literature of the history of medicine.

Our grandfathers lived in the heroic age of medicine. After examining the contents of this book one does not wonder at or even question the seriousness of the authors' inscription following the copyright page: "To the Pioneer Doctor who boldly faced the wilderness; and to the Pioneer who bravely faced the Doctor." From time to time the heavy hand of cholera, yellow fever, smallpox, and other epidemic diseases fairly decimated the population. In addition there was the ever-present threat of ague, gout, rheumatism, cramps, and scores of other infirmities, not to mention childbirth, accidents, and other frequent disturbances. At times the home and domestic remedies imposed on the sick by relatives and friends were potent potions or ruthless therapies that literally hastened death.

The authors have given a good account of the professional struggle between the so-called regulars and the irregulars or sectarians. Medicine was not yet on a sound scientific basis. "Purge and bleed" was still the most common therapeutic measure

employed by the regulars. It was too often the untrained and unscrupulous practitioners who promoted panaceas, some of which contained a grain of sound therapy. The laity took sides in the battle but benefited little.

Doctors Pickard and Buley have made a splendid contribution toward the filling of one important gap in the social history of the United States—the development of American medicine. This is a significant aspect of the pioneers' struggle which for many years was almost wholly neglected by leading historians of the country. Both the students of social history and students of medical history will cherish this volume.

*College of Medical Evangelists, Los Angeles*

WM. FREDERICK NORWOOD

DIARY AND LETTERS OF JOSIAH GREGG. Edited by *Maurice Garland Fulton*. With an Introduction by *Paul Horgan*. Book I, SOUTHWESTERN ENTERPRISES, 1840–1847. Book II, EXCURSIONS IN MEXICO AND CALIFORNIA, 1847–1850. [American Exploration and Travel Series, No. 7.] (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press. 1941, 1944. Pp. xvii, 413; xvii, 396. \$3.50 per volume.)

WHILE engaged in research dealing with the north coast area of California the writer came on an account of an expedition in 1849 that had made significant geographical discoveries. The account was written by one who later became the county official to whom local tradition was wont to credit the leadership of the expedition. A closer reading revealed, however, that there was another man who far surpassed the other members of the company in ability and education; in fact his penchant for making and recording scientific observations made him extremely unpopular with his fellows, for the enterprise was not without hardships. When starvation threatened, they considered scientific research as worse than useless. The name of Mad River still stands as a reminder of a state of mind too common among the little company.

The element of discord was a certain Dr. Josiah Gregg, who was equipped with scientific apparatus which led him to undertake repeatedly "useless" observations. To one familiar with the Southwest the name challenged attention, and further investigation revealed that this man was none other than the famous author and Santa Fe trader. Efforts to secure more information as to Gregg's history just previous to this California experience proved at the time unavailing. The work now under review therefore fills a hitherto unexplained gap covering especially the decade 1840–1850.

The work is in two volumes. The first, under the title *Southwestern Enterprises, 1840–1847*, concludes with Gregg's experience in the Mexican War with General Wool. The second volume, *Excursions in Mexico and California: 1847–1850*, records the closing episodes in Gregg's career.

The editors are to be congratulated on the persistent manner in which the

search for the documents was carried to success and for the excellent form in which these are now made available to the public. Mr. Horgan's short chapters on the life of Gregg are well written. Numerous maps, many of them compiled by Gregg himself illustrate the volumes. The one used to accompany the account of Gregg's last expedition could have been improved if a more accurate base map had been used instead of one of 1851. The University of Oklahoma Press is to be commended for adding this work to its already imposing list of excellent books.

*University of Southern California*

OWEN C. COY

THE MIDNIGHT CRY: A DEFENSE OF THE CHARACTER AND CONDUCT OF WILLIAM MILLER AND THE MILLERITES WHO MISTAKENLY BELIEVED THAT THE SECOND COMING OF CHRIST WOULD TAKE PLACE IN THE YEAR 1844. By *Francis D. Nichol*. (Washington: Review and Herald Publishing Association. 1944. Pp. 560. \$3.50.)

THE final chapter of this book is entitled "The Case for the Defense Summed Up," but the author aims also to chronicle and explain Millerism and its most prominent spokesman, William Miller. Admitting that the subject is controversial, and that his Adventist background gives him a "sympathetic approach," the author claims that it enables him to understand the movement as no outsider can who studies it as a curious religious episode. Since his defense was to be made "according to rule," Mr. Nichol visited historic places and asylums; read both Millerite and general papers, Millerite books and pamphlets and hundreds of letters and manuscripts from the papers of the founder. Most of this material had not been used since 1853.

The author's general thesis is that Miller was an honest and sincere man who had reached his beliefs after long and careful study of the Bible, that Millerism was part of a wide Advent movement, and that it "does not suffer by comparison with other religious awakenings." Like the Great Awakening it was revivalist in character. Though his peculiar teaching was the actual coming of Christ in flaming fire to begin a reign of a thousand years about 1843, yet Miller's principal object was to awaken men by the midnight cry that the bridegroom cometh.

Up to 1840 it was practically a one-man movement within the churches of various denominations in the region adjoining Miller's home. At its height it had a separate organization and thousands of followers, and it extended north to Canada, west to Ohio, and south to Virginia and Kentucky. The rapid expansion was due largely to the work of one convert, the Reverend Joshua V. Himes, a campaign promoter of great ability. Approved at first by church leaders because their flocks were increased by its revivals, Millerism later met with hostility. Newspapers printed wild and ridiculous stories about it, caricatures were issued, and mobs attacked its meetings. The followers were charged with irregularities and

excesses, hysterical and fanatical behavior, and financial wrong doing. The most serious accusation was that Millerism caused waves of insanity, suicide, and murder.

The author does not deny the presence of the "lunatic fringe" that accompanies any movement, and cites attacks on abolitionists, among others. He asserts in defense that it should be judged by its main body of well-behaved members rather than by the actions of a few cranks and impostors. He emphasizes the repeated disavowal and opposition to excesses, the public denouncement of one of their own lecturers, and the denial of the truth of many accusations. He claims that charges should be set aside which are based only on rumor, vague and hostile newspaper reports, idle stories, and even outright hoaxes. Similarly dismissed are family recollections and tales unsupported by evidence.

Specific and serious charges he examines with special care. Examples are three camp meetings in Connecticut in 1843 and one in Exeter, New Hampshire, in 1844. Certain groups were found to be involved in fanatical acts, which were emphatically and officially denounced as disgraceful. A Philadelphia meeting in October, 1844, on the day appointed as the last of the world, took place under a leader who was not accredited, and was grossly misrepresented. The stories told of it were the source of many of those since repeated with variations. Charges of insanity were usually specific and could be investigated in the records of asylums. The author's studies here showed that, in those for which Millerism was given as a cause, tendencies to insanity and even actual insanity had been previously manifested. He is convinced that "Millerism was not really the cause of anyone's insanity." His defense is so strong that hereafter if serious writers repeat the charge, it would seem to be only to illustrate the fear and hostility roused by the preaching of the end of the world.

As to lesser charges, tales so colorful and picturesque as those of Millerites dressed in long, white robes, waiting in graveyards or in trees and on platforms for Gabriel to blow his horn, will not pass into the oblivion which he feels they deserve, but into the realm of folklore. The saga of the New Haven Green, for instance, is enlivened by the tale of believers rushing out in ascension robes at the cry of fire.

Mr. Nichol has done an immense amount of work, with valuable results, both in exposition and defense. His self-confessed bias is not extreme or bitter. Like most writers he has mannerisms, and his material might have been less repetitiously presented. The book is supplied with an adequate index, numerous footnotes, excerpts from the sources, and a comprehensive bibliography. Reproductions of manuscripts, papers, old prints, charts, and hostile broadsides are interesting.

*New Haven, Connecticut*

MARY H. MITCHELL

ALBUM OF AMERICAN HISTORY. Volume II, 1783-1853. By *James Truslow Adams*, Editor in Chief; *R. V. Coleman*, Managing Editor; *Thomas Robson Hay*, Associate Editor; *Atkinson Dymock*, Art Director. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1945. Pp. xi, 418. \$7.50.)

THE second volume of the *Album of American History* of which James Truslow Adams is the editor in chief presents the same handsome appearance as the first, and together they are a monument to the indefatigable industry of those responsible for collecting the illustrations which are intended to give a connected portrayal of American history to 1853. Libraries and museums have been drawn upon freely, antique furniture, farm implements, and household equipment have been photographed, and hundreds of old pictures from contemporary books of travel, magazines, and other printed sources have been skillfully and faithfully reproduced. The list of those individuals and institutions to whom the editors feel that acknowledgment of indebtedness is due is evidence of the co-operation of a cross section of depositories of Americana.

As in the first volume, the very mass of material tends to confuse one who attempts, as the editor suggests, to obtain "a true and representative picture of how our history *looked* between 1783 and 1853. The strictly chronological arrangement adds to that confusion, and even though one reads the accompanying text it is somewhat disconcerting to turn from sailing vessels to clocks or to find a page of pictures depicting an antislavery man's idea of domestic slavery in 1817 sandwiched in between a picture of Chicago about 1820 and an illustration from Schoolcraft's *View of the Lead Mines of Missouri*, apparently because the dates were appropriately arranged. Some sort of topical arrangement might have made the work more coherent and intelligible.

As is the case with every anthology or collection a reviewer is always astounded at omissions and vexed with inclusion of items that seem irrelevant or uninteresting. A collection that would satisfy all those interested in the social history of the period would doubtless be an impossibility, for, if the addition of every picture whose omission is protested could be made, there would still be the controversial questions of arrangement and exclusions. The editors chose the chronological arrangement and have followed it consistently. They have, also, met and solved as they found it necessary and advisable the problems of subject matter. The reviewers should, perhaps, be grateful for the merits of the finished product and refrain from wishing that it might have been different. It is indeed a handsome volume and one that can be of great usefulness to those interested in social history.

*University of Minnesota*

ALICE FELT TYLER

THE FARMER'S LAST FRONTIER: AGRICULTURE, 1860-1897. By *Fred A. Shannon*. [The Economic History of the United States, Volume V.] (New York: Farrar and Rinehart. 1945. Pp. xii, 434. Text \$3.75, trade \$5.00.)

THIS is an outstanding book dealing with the agricultural development of the United States in one of the most significant periods of American economic history. During these years came the Civil War and its aftermath resulting in the ruin of the planter aristocracy of the South and the substitution of a system of free labor for the former slave economy of that region. In this period also came the rise and decline of the great pastoral empire commonly known as the "Cow Country" and a great outpouring to the prairie West of an agricultural population which for many years had hesitated at the edge of this treeless area, more than a trifle reluctant to attempt to cope with a land so different from any which it had known in the past. This migration, which was due in part to the crowded condition of the region farther east, was stimulated by the Homestead Act and the westward advance of railroads while the rapid conquest of the prairies was also much facilitated by the westward advance of railroads and the invention, manufacture, and widespread use of farm machinery. Finally, it was during these years that the distress of the farmers, particularly in the West, brought about the "agrarian crusade" characterized by the establishment of the Grange, the Farmers' Alliance, and farm clubs, and by the rise of Populism and the development of co-operatives by the rural population. All of these movements had far-reaching effects upon the social, economic, and political conditions of the country as a whole, and to deal adequately with all of them and their complex relationships must have proved a difficult task. The author has not only succeeded admirably, however, but in addition has given considerable attention to the various types of soil, the effects of western crop production upon the farmers of the East, and social life in the rural districts, and in the final chapter has given a very useful and comprehensive discussion of the literature of the subject. The volume is scholarly and shows every evidence of long and painstaking labor. It contains some good illustrations, has numerous useful graphs and tables, and is well documented. With so much factual material to be covered it would perhaps be too much to expect the style to be colorful and vivid though in some places this is true. On the whole, however, the book is characterized by scholarship rather than by color and imagination, and little is revealed of the romance in the lives of the plain people who went out adventuring into the untamed West with little to sustain them except their hopes and dreams.

Some readers will doubtless feel that the author's keen sympathy for the poor and oppressed has at times prevented an entirely objective treatment of some phases of his subject. He denounces bitterly the exploitation of the unfortunate tenants, share croppers, and farm laborers of the South as well as the defects of the Homestead Law which made possible the monopoly of large areas of western lands by railroads and speculators. That the situation of the poorer classes in the South was pitiable during this period, no one will deny, but it is a debatable question whether this was not due more to conditions growing out of the war than to a deliberate and studied effort on the part of the landowners to exploit these help-

less people. Millions of former slaves suddenly released from bondage could hardly attain decent standards of living and even a minimum of prosperity in a single generation, nor could the white landowner who returned after four years of war to find his buildings in ruins, his livestock destroyed, and his fields grown up in bushes and briars, do very much to help them since he had great difficulty in providing the essentials of life for his own family. Certainly few will assert that many landowners grew rich in this period from the labor of those who tilled their fields.

Obviously the Homestead Law was not perfect but no such law could have been of much benefit to laborers in the factories and mines for the reason that these people were not farmers and few of them had any desire to become farmers. They preferred the relative security of a steady job and regular wages to the uncertainties of trying to wring a living from the reluctant soil of a prairie claim. Under this law, however, no less than 100,000 families secured lands in western Oklahoma, and the number must have been equally great in each of such states as Kansas, Nebraska, and the Dakotas. While the suggestion that the law should have made provisions for transporting settlers to the land and provided credit for all of their needs for the first year or two is excellent in theory, it should be pointed out, in justice to the framers of the act, that at the time of its passage public opinion could never have been brought to accept so much paternalism in government. Unquestionably the government should have prevented the monopolizing of western lands by corporations, but it should also be remembered that the occupation of the prairies by settlers was made possible only by the westward advance of railroads and that the immediate value of the lands included in the railway grants was comparatively little. Whether or not one accepts the idea that the author has at times overstated his case, most readers will agree that this is a minor matter and will be grateful for a very informative book, which is undoubtedly the most comprehensive account of the development of agriculture in this period that can be found in any single volume.

*University of Oklahoma*

EDWARD EVERETT DALE

SEAMAN A. KNAPP, SCHOOLMASTER OF AMERICAN AGRICULTURE.

By *Joseph Cannon Bailey*. [Columbia University Studies in the History of American Agriculture, Number 10.] (New York: Columbia University Press. 1945. Pp. xiii, 307. \$3.25.)

This biographical study is the latest addition to the series of monographs and sources for which students of agricultural history are indebted to the liberal provision of the Columbia University Press and to the editorial initiative of Dean Carman and Dr. Tugwell and their advisory board. An appraisal of the career of a significant agricultural leader is most appropriate for the series. After an active career as agricultural educator, journalist, stock raiser, and rice planter, in his



mature years Seaman A. Knapp initiated one of the essential elements in the co-operative extension service. The present study covers much the same ground as Rodney Cline's monograph (*Life and Work of Seaman A. Knapp*, Peabody Contributions to Education, 1936) but with much greater detail. In fact the treatment is at some points too detailed, and involves a number of needless repetitions.

Mr. Bailey's enthusiasm for his subject and his efforts to relate the career to the changing social scene make for a sprightly narrative. Unfortunately in sketching the background, the author is at times careless in his observations and references. He is perhaps not responsible for the misnomer "Ames College" on the jacket, but there are too many slips in the text itself. A Methodist conference is by no means "the equivalent of an Episcopal diocese" (p. 14). The support of needy students was not a basic principle of the Fellenberg labor system (p. 15). "Degrees" were not conferred either on men or women in the academies (p. 18). At the same time the slighting reference to that notable institution of general education is not justified (p. 32). To say that the Morrill Act in giving state legislatures control over higher education created "a problem novel to American democracy" (p. 84) ignores the earlier experiences of state universities and "agricultural colleges." *Wallace's Farmer* is termed "Journal" in text and index (pp. 64, 70, 307). George W. Curtis and Charles F. Curtiss, both graduates of Iowa Agricultural College and professors of agriculture in different states are confused (pp. 200, 258, 294). It is surely an exaggeration to assert that "the economy of the South in 1900 was almost completely agricultural" (p. 216).

The bibliography makes a curious confusion of primary and secondary references by including monographs with the former and memoirs with the latter. Of the considerable number of additions that might be made, a wider selection of farm papers, Henry Wallace's *Uncle Henry's Own Story*, W. R. Williamson's *Yesterday and Today in Louisiana Agriculture*, and C. R. Woodward's article on Wilson's agricultural philosophy in *Agricultural History* might be specially suggested.

More serious than the factual lapses are certain errors in interpretation and evaluation. Knapp's stand on controversial issues was so definite and his place in agricultural education and administration so well established that it is most unfortunate to have his ideas confused and to have misleading claims made for his contributions. It is not in accord with his consistent convictions to say that he effected a reconciliation of the rival groups of agricultural educators (p. 105); on the contrary, he remained a narrow-gauge protagonist to the end. Again after relating his initiation and vigorous support of an experiment station bill providing for centralized administration, it is unreal to his position and that of his supporters, then and later, to imply that the compromise effected by Commissioner Colman in the Hatch Act was substantially in accord with his views (pp. 96-101).

Knapp's demonstration work is properly given extended treatment and his contribution to the present state-federal extension system emphasized. But to contend

that the Smith-Lever Act "is Knapp's nearly single-handed achievement" (p. 276) ignores the varied groups of agricultural, industrial, and home economist interests that were long agitating and organizing for such a measure. Likewise, the implication that his ideas and methods were definitely established and those of his opponents confounded disregards the persistent contentious discussions and investigations of extension support, control, organization, and methods.

In spite of these rather obvious errancies, in fact and emphasis, the book will be a convenient and serviceable addition to the history of agricultural education and administration.

*Iowa State College*

EARLE D. ROSS

LAKE ONTARIO. By *Arthur Pound*. [The American Lakes Series, edited by Milo M. Quaife.] (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill Company. 1945. Pp. 384. \$3.50.)

THE object of this series is to present an account of human interests and activities in and about each of the Great Lakes. They present little that is new to readers of this *Review* who have an interest in the lakes and are planned rather to reach the general public.

Dr. Pound, in this volume on Lake Ontario, conducts the reader through the advent and sway of the Iroquois, the intercolonial wars, the wars of Great Britain and the United States in so far as they were waged about the lake, and the political fortunes of the environs since 1815; describes the chief industrial, commercial, and engineering developments; and does a final circuit of the lake to display the communities and their interests to the world. More material would be welcome on the fisheries and on the experiences of the sailors on the lake, but this is omitted no doubt by design. The general plan is sound and well carried out.

The author has much military matter on his hands and generally treats it well enough for his purposes. Slips are hardly to be avoided. In the expedition to Fort Niagara in 1759, Sir William Johnson was not in command of the provincial troops (p. 81) but of the Indians. Two versions of the Devil's Hole affair, September 14, 1763, are given (pp. 86, 261); the second is the better but errs about casualties which were not seventy-five killed but eighty-three killed and eight wounded. The author is unduly impressed by a recent controversy about Laura Secord; there is no doubt that she made her well-known journey, but she informed a commander who already knew what she had to tell. On occasion, the narrative is not clear about field actions, for example, the descriptions of Chrystler's Field and Lundy's Lane (pp. 181, 195). Such actions are hard to describe in a few sentences; but some idea should be given of what each commander hoped to do, what he had to do it with, how he fared and why. In the Prescott affair, November 12-16, 1838, the invaders held the windmill not two days (p. 219) but four. The capture of Fort Niagara by the British, December 18, 1813, is omitted from an otherwise full chronicle of the fort (p. 184).

The political narrative is well managed and has few errors. But Acadia did not extend to Hudson Bay (p. 66); the population of Great Britain in 1783 was not twenty millions (p. 129) but seven or eight; in the enumeration of overseas Britons in that year, the maritime provinces should not be overlooked with their 35,000 population. The account of the agitation in Upper Canada before 1837 would be improved by use of Professor W. S. Wallace's *The Family Compact* (1922). Lord Durham's famous report (see p. 221), is an unsafe guide to conditions in Upper Canada. Nor does it appear that political institutions had much to do with the difference in development of the United States and Upper Canada; natural resources and geography were much more important. The clergy reserves were not exactly a monopoly of the Church of England (p. 223) but were shared with the church of Scotland. These points are rather fine; and the author makes many excellent judgments of Canadian public men like Sir John A. Macdonald (p. 232) as well as of his own countrymen. The reviewer is glad to commend the book to anyone interested in Lake Ontario and its neighborhood.

*University of Buffalo*

W. B. KERR

**DIPLOMAT IN CARPET SLIPPERS: ABRAHAM LINCOLN DEALS WITH FOREIGN AFFAIRS.** By *Jay Monaghan*. (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill Company. 1945. Pp. 505. \$4.00.)

HERE is a volume of diplomatic history which departs from the conventional patterns. In the first place the domestic background of the foreign policy is fully set forth, with the result that the reader is always aware in what respects a decision was contingent upon events and currents at home. Equally important, Mr. Monaghan takes great care to point out what the choices were, and thus the reader has constantly before him the alternatives to the decisions as they were made. Furthermore, the author describes the trends of public opinion in both England and France and carefully brings together the recorded information of all that happened on certain important days. The use of sources is impressive, more than 5,000 being listed in the bibliography.

Another unique characteristic of *Diplomat in Carpet Slippers* is the highly spiced style coupled with the vivid imagination of the author. Carl Schurz, for example, did not just sit down and play the White House piano, as John Hay remembered it, but, "The German, restless as a caged bear, had found the instrument. He had drawn up a stool—[who knows that it wasn't a bench?]—and his nervous fingers danced and hurdled across the keys, tickling laughter from the strings, pounding out rage, then triumph—composition after composition until Lincoln took him down to tea." Louis Blanc to the author is "popeyed, pint-sized Louis Blanc," and Seward "bumbled" across to the White House in the latter part of 1863. Some of this may be true, and unimportant even if it is true,

but that Seward was "bumbling" at that late day is not supported by either citations or the record. Moreover, there is a little overreading of the sources to enhance the hero (this is unmistakably a hero story), as when the statement "Dayton warned the President" is supported only by the citation "Dayton to Seward" (pp. 229, 451).

After reading, often with breathless interest, this exciting narrative and exposition of the unfolding and shaping of American foreign policy during the Civil War, the reviewer finds himself not asserting but merely wondering whether, in spite of all his research and critical scholarship, the author has not overplayed his hand, either to exalt his hero or to prick the attention of the jaded nonprofessional reader. Underlying the book are two assumptions, one constitutionally, but not otherwise necessarily, true, and the other true only in spots. The first assumption is that foreign policy is presidential, that when a policy is laid down it is the President's. This is true constitutionally but it does not necessarily follow that the policy always belongs to the President in the sense that he initiates it. The other assumption is that while all the failures and blunders were Seward's, or those of some other member of the cabinet, therefore all the successes were Lincoln's. Perhaps they were, but in the absence of the Seward Papers, which seem to have been foolishly destroyed by an overzealous son, and the inaccessibility, possibly the destruction, of very important Lincoln papers, there seems to the reviewer not enough evidence to support either of these assumptions. Of Seward it might be said, as the present mayor of New York once said of himself, that when he made a mistake it was a "beaut." He got off to a bad start but he, none the less, became one of the great secretaries of state, and it detracts nothing from Lincoln to grant this. Mr. Monaghan has enough direct evidence to show that Lincoln, always a better domestic politician than any member of his cabinet, had a very uncanny political sense in dealing with England, France, and Mexico. His carpet slippers, curling nightshirt, and homely ways serve to enhance the record of his skill. The author is to be praised for making the most of all the actual facts, but one finishes the book with a feeling that not only Seward but Charles Francis Adams, Thurlow Weed, John Bigelow, and many other men, all of them also fairly intelligent, far from having the advantage of a similar build-up, have been played down. Who can know, in the absence of a sufficiently detailed contemporary record, that Dayton's dispatch warning Seward ever even reached the President? And who knows, in the absence of a trustworthy witness, that when a policy is adopted it is for the reasons stated in the papers which recommend it. The day-to-day relations of a President and Secretary of State comprise one of the great mysteries in the history of American government. Rarely has the veil been parted save in a very few instances where a President or a secretary later wanted to claim too much or too little, and it remains doubtful whether Mr. Monaghan has wholly succeeded in lifting the veil in this one very notable case. Be it always remembered that Seward, like others in his post both before and after, was fond of the Depart-

ment of State formula: "The President directs me to state . . ." Sometimes, yes; sometimes, no.

None will challenge Mr. Monaghan's thesis that the diplomacy of the Civil War was very skillful and that Abraham Lincoln, from whom so little might reasonably have been expected in the direction of foreign affairs, rose to the challenge to a degree which seems almost miraculous. The presumption seems to remain, however, that his greatest success was in the selection of those to whom he trusted the carrying out of the policies and from whom he accepted a great deal of very wise advice. *Diplomat in Carpet Slippers* is a challenging and brilliant book, less useful, perhaps, to the credulous and trusting undergraduate than to his instructor.

Hague, New York

TYLER DENNETT

THE CITY OF BROOKLYN, 1865-1898: A POLITICAL HISTORY. By Harold Coffin Syrett, Instructor in History, Columbia University. [Studies in History, Economics, and Public Law, edited by the Faculty of Political Science of Columbia University, Number 512.] (New York: Columbia University Press. 1944. Pp. 293. \$3.25.)

THIS study surveys the municipal administration of Brooklyn from the end of the Civil War to her consolidation with New York as the nineteenth century drew to a close. Dr. Syrett has effectively demonstrated that many of Brooklyn's relations with her neighbor across the East River were colored by an inferiority complex—particularly is this true of her reluctance to embrace amalgamation. Contrary to the dire predictions of contemporaries, Brooklyn's unique brand of provincialism was not extinguished by consolidation. In a city distinguished for its degree of cultural pluralism, Brooklyn has retained its picturesque argot and intense civic pride, and, let us not forget, the Dodgers.

Dr. Syrett analyzes in detail the functioning of municipal government in what was the third largest city in the United States in 1865, a teeming, industrial port, with a heavy foreign population, presenting an astonishing contrast to the sedate, church-going village of the earlier part of the century for whose portrait we are indebted to Ralph Foster Weld. Brooklyn indubitably served as a model for Lord Bryce's criticism of our municipal governments as "the one conspicuous failure in the United States." Burdened by an archaic charter, forced to share her government with Kings County and the state legislature, Brooklyn was hampered in every direction from adopting any long-term plan for public improvements. Dr. Syrett has etched convincing sketches of the self-seeking politicians of the old school who ruled Brooklyn. He reviews the careers of that German Don Quixote, Mayor Kalbfleisch, and of such bosses as Hugh McLaughlin, who enriched himself by "honest graft," and John Y. McKane, lawless boss of Coney Island.

The most constructive portions of the volume are devoted to the reformers,

notably Seth Low, whose defeat of the machine in 1881 marked a turning point in municipal government, and Gaynor, who introduced the technique of government by lawsuit. Low's integrity and broad social vision kept him from making some of the blunders of later municipal reformers. He did not trim the tax rate at the expense of educational and welfare services, nor did he attempt to tie his political tail to the kite of national politics. Dr. Syrett gives the impression that Low was studiously nonpartisan in the national election of 1884. This overstates the case. Low cast his vote for Cleveland and never again received the wholehearted support of the Republican organization.

The author makes the significant point that the special interests did not use the politicians but that actually it was the other way around. There was probably a closer connection between business and politicians than meets the eye in this volume, and, indeed, Brooklyn would seem like a fertile field for testing Lincoln Steffens' theory. A suggestive pattern is the effective use of the police as strike-breakers in the decade after 1885. For these and other problems the more formal published reports utilized by Dr. Syrett are unlikely to yield more than he has already gleaned. Except for the Seth Low papers in the possession of Columbia University, this volume does not utilize unpublished administrative archives or personal correspondence. Unfortunately most municipal officials have in the past been wont to treat the records of their office as their private property to dispose of as they wished. Only recently, historically minded citizens prevented the municipal authorities in New York City from disposing of correspondence of the mayors from the days of Tweed down to the Walker regime. Dr. Syrett's study points to the urgency of a parallel investigation for the community on the other side of Brooklyn Bridge, one that would utilize the wealth of available archival materials, which, if properly exploited, would cast new light on municipal administration in New York when the Tiger still had claws.

*College of the City of New York*

RICHARD B. MORRIS

WOODROW WILSON AND THE PEOPLE. By *H. C. F. Bell*, Professor of History, Wesleyan University. (Garden City, N. Y.: Doubleday, Doran and Company. 1945. Pp. 392. \$3.00.)

HARDLY a month passes in this era when the peace, lasting peace, is the master passion and heart's desire of mankind, without the appearance from the press of one or more books on Woodrow Wilson. The reason? No one approaches the thought of the supreme goal without turning back to the days of Wilson, when he waged "a war against war" in order to secure an international organization to outlaw war from the world. It was the noblest dream man ever had, and it would have come true in 1919 and 1920 if narrow provincialism, greed for gold, partisan bitterness, and paid propaganda had not kept the United States out of the League.

*Woodrow Wilson and the People* is from the pen of Dr. H. C. F. Bell, professor

of history at Wesleyan University, who occupies a chair in the university where Wilson won his first spurs as an inspiring teacher. The book has this most appropriate introduction:

To  
Ray Stannard Baker  
and  
Katherine Edith Brand  
Benefactors to all people interested  
in Woodrow Wilson and his work.

The author begins with the inauguration of Wilson as president of Princeton, October 26, 1902, and gives an illuminating good pen-picture of the following nine years that will delight collegians. He tells of what Bliss Perry called Wilson's "magic fault in the excess of self-confidence," and his first fight for democracy in an old institution steeped in tradition and intellectual snobbery born of a system of caste that had made secret society approval more desired by students than academic honors. When Wilson decided to unhorse those evils that have gained too much ascendancy in endowed educational institutions, he ran up against forces which resulted in a bitter struggle, won him the admiration of progressives, the opposition of those who hated change, and what they called "compelling eating with a mucker." Popular approval intensified highbrow opposition, which resulted in making Wilson governor of New Jersey and President of the United States.

The author tells—and tells well and authentically—the story up to and including the war and Wilson's strategy in prosecuting political battles at home and the great war in which he led the American people in 1917–1918. There runs through the story of those days the proof that "service to his people was a large part of Wilson's religion." This is shown in the contests of Wilson to render service to the people over the opposition of powerful foes in all the years of his public life. He never lost a battle until his great League of Nations, and the author lets the reader see how he waged his battles.

Dr. Bell tells the story of the long negotiations at Paris to secure the League, and quotes high authorities to the effect that the only way to secure peace was to make the League an integral part of the peace treaty. He points out what he thinks were the mistakes of Wilson, but is far too easy on Lansing and House, giving them more credit for their activities and sincerity than they deserve. In being extrajudicial there is lacking the true characterization of those who helped to scuttle the League, though he does put Lodge and some other bitter-enders in their right place. He leans backward in finding excuses or defenses for most of the figures who deserve more censure than praise for the hurtful part they played in days of testing.

On the whole, it is an admirable, well-authenticated, and impressive story of the life of the great man of the period, with fine sidelights on most of the charac-



ters on the stage in what the author shows was an epoch-making period in the world's history. Best of all, it is written in a clear style and is interesting from start to finish, enriched with enlightened comment. Here is his final appraisal of Wilson:

The supreme desire of Wilson's life was to be the people's servant, their interpreter and their leader. And yet one of the facts he disregarded was the inability of the people to understand and sympathize with what he was trying to do. So he wrecked his health and broke his power, and seemed to end his career in failure. But the failure, of course, was only an apparent one. The nations of the world are even now building on foundations that he laid.

*Raleigh, North Carolina*

JOSEPHUS DANIELS

FIGHTING LIBERAL: THE AUTOBIOGRAPHY OF GEORGE W. NORRIS.

(New York: Macmillan Company. 1945. Pp. xv, 419. \$3.50.)

It is difficult to divorce a book, particularly one purporting to be an autobiography, from its author, but in this case the effort should be made.

The career of George W. Norris in American politics has few, if any, close parallels. Here was a man whose flair for criticism, whether of party bigotry, or public dishonesty, or corporation greed, might have cast him in a merely negative role. Indeed, his effectiveness as a tribune of the people can scarcely be overestimated. And yet, Norris' greatest work was not in criticism but in construction. A long overdue revision in the rules of the House of Representatives, generous government sponsorship of flood control, the public ownership and development of hydroelectric power, the lame-duck amendment, the unicameral legislature in Nebraska—these are but highlights in a long list of positive accomplishments. Time and again Norris used to explain in tired patience to his constituents (and usually with the same hackneyed quotations from "Abou-ben-Adhem") that religion and politics had much in common. Both, he argued, sought to promote a fuller, happier life among men. Few will deny that Norris worked with exactly this end in view, that he staked his political life freely to further any cause in which he deeply believed, that he showed the high courage and stubborn tenacity of statesmanship. And, incidentally, the very fact that such a man could survive the vicissitudes of American national politics for forty years goes far toward proving that the old adage, "Democracy loves mediocrity," is somewhat less than one hundred per cent true.

But the man is better than the book. Perhaps the general public will find this narrative interesting and informative. It is a simply told tale, full of naïveté, cast by Editor James E. Lawrence of the *Lincoln Star* into readable newspaper English. But it has far less value for the professional historian than for the layman. It reveals little of importance not hitherto known, and leaves one with the definite impression that Norris, the contemporary, was a far better witness in his own behalf than Norris, the tired and broken old man.

In general, Norris, in his memoirs, is as unconcerned as he should be about his occasional inconsistencies; sometimes he delights to point them out. In two cases, however, he tries, somewhat unconvincingly, to justify himself. While a strong defender of American entrance into the second World War and active participation by the United States in world organization, he still upholds his isolationist attitude during and after the first World War. And while earnestly in favor of a federal anti-poll tax law, he still quotes approvingly his earlier speech against a federal antilynching bill. His logic is hard to follow, but, as one of my most distinguished colleagues is fond of saying, "There ought to be a fifth freedom, the right to be wrong."

*University of California*

JOHN D. HICKS

THE COLLECTED PAPERS OF JOHN BASSETT MOORE. In seven volumes. (New Haven: Yale University Press. 1945. Pp. xxi, 439; v, 487; vi, 479; v, 486; v, 370; v, 507; iv, 432. \$20.00.)

THESE seven volumes provide impressive evidence of the breadth and depth of the thinking of one whose highest ambition has been, as he himself said in 1930, "to be known as a student and expositor of the law" (VI, 365). Beginning with an address delivered in 1877, and concluding with a paper completed in 1943, the materials brought together (some of the papers being here published for the first time) attest the remarkable erudition and industry of this leader in the field of public international law and distinguished publicist in the field of American diplomatic history. From the volumes it is possible to get an insight into the elements of his legal and political philosophy, his emphasis upon sound method in investigation and analysis, his refreshing sense of humor, his deep interest in the public welfare, his ideals of public service, and the continuing importance which he assigned to the principle of legality in relations between states. The inclusion of numerous book reviews, which were published over a period of half a century, makes easily accessible authoritative evaluations of much writing on international law and diplomacy in this period. Also reproduced, along with many other items, are the essays which were published as *The Principles of American Diplomacy and International Law and Some Current Illusions*.

The reality of international law is the subject of comment in various connections. "Let us have done," Mr. Moore wrote in 1911, "with superficial reproaches upon the 'uncertainty' of international law" (III, 363). After the war of 1914-1918 he described as "repugnant to the teachings of history" and "recreant to the ideals and achievements of the past" the "despairing declaration" that international law no longer existed (V, 349). As is well known, he opposed as futile the attempt to define aggression (VI, 337, 448; VII, 5, 151). In 1933 he expressed the view that international law "ceases to be international in proportion

as certain states assume to assert and exercise superiority over other states" (VI, 466).

The limitations of a brief review do not permit even an enumeration of the questions of substantive law which occasion comment or discussion. Illustrative of these are questions of the three-mile limit (VII, 291), of the effect of a legal state of war upon treaties (IV, 98; VI, 299), and of the confiscation of enemy-owned private property (IV, 178; V, 286).

The student of diplomatic history, as distinct from the student or practitioner of international law, will find in these volumes much instructive material on such matters as American treaty policy, the development of rules relating to neutrality, freedom of the seas, and international arbitration. Volume VII contains a letter of December 7, 1934, to R. Walton Moore, and heretofore unpublished, on far eastern policy, in which there is discussion of the origin of the "open door" policy (pp. 14, 15), and in which attention is drawn to the fact that in the Russo-Japanese War the first proposal for peace came from Japan (p. 17).

Commenting on the role of the historian, Mr. Moore observed, in a review published in 1935, that "perhaps the chief fault of historical writers has been their propensity to exaggerate the part that reason has played in human affairs" (VII, 39). Somewhat earlier, in the course of remarks relating to efforts to increase the endowment fund of the American Historical Association he said that "the historian performs a function essential to the perpetuity of free institutions, and he who contributes of his means to this end may be regarded as performing a patriotic service of the highest order" (VI, 290).

*Duke University*

ROBERT R. WILSON

THE MAGIC POWDER: HISTORY OF THE UNIVERSAL ATLAS CEMENT COMPANY AND THE CEMENT INDUSTRY. By *Earl J. Hadley*. (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1945. Pp. xiv, 382. \$3.50.)

THAT interest in business history is increasing is apparent on every side. The activity of Professor Gras, the work of the New York Committee on Business Records, recent articles in the *Journal of Economic History*, and the large number of company histories testify to the trend. The present book is further evidence of this interest, being the story of the Atlas Portland Cement Company and the Universal Portland Cement Company—companies which merged in 1930 to form the Universal Atlas Company, a subsidiary of United States Steel Corporation.

In any business history the scholar wants to learn (1) what goods or services the company offered for sale, (2) what the technical or technological development of these goods or services were, (3) how the goods or services were marketed, (4) what the financial aspects of the business were, including data on profits and loss, (5) what the management was and what special problems it encountered,

(6) how the company's activity stood in relation to the industry of which it was a part, and (7) what the interplays were between the company and the entire economic development of the country. If the book does not deal adequately with these issues, and any other special problems of the business, it adds little to the scholar's store of knowledge.

Too frequently, company histories are more interested in public relations than in an analysis of the above-listed matters. That is true of the work by Mr. Hadley. As a former newspaper and feature writer he has stressed the glamorous and the popular—and leaves one in the dark about many of those very matters any businessman wants to know about a business. He has good information on the early development of cement, upon the origins of many of the uses of cement, and upon some of the more picturesque figures in the two companies in question. But he gives us practically no new information on such important aspects of the business as the basing point price system, earnings, financial structure, factors of location, government interference, and so forth. In short, he provides an opportunity to enter a plea to businessmen who contemplate having the history of their companies written to see to it that these histories are really instructive in a business sense—and not just feature writing.

*Columbia University*

SHEPARD B. CLOUGH

THE VIRGIN ISLANDS: FROM NAVAL BASE TO NEW DEAL. By *Luther Harris Evans*. (Ann Arbor: J. W. Edwards. 1945. Pp. xi, 365. \$3.50.)

This scholarly and well-documented book is likely for some years to be the standard reference work to 1936 on America's administration of the Virgin Islands. The author, who is now Librarian of Congress, examined most of, if not all, the public and private papers about the islands and vitalized his knowledge by visits to the islands and interviews with natives and officials. It is to be hoped that, as the dependency progresses in responsible living, Mr. Evans will give us critical appraisals of its development subsequent to 1935.

The Danish background of the colony is drawn mainly from Westergaard's excellent history of the islands. Acquired for reasons of naval strategy and national security, there was little recognition by Americans in 1917 that the Virgin Islands had declined economically and were, and would long remain, a financial liability. The heart of the book deals with the basic law of the islands as unincorporated territory; the partial survival of Danish institutions; local councils with power to criticize but not to control administration which was in the hands of the Navy; public finance and jurisprudence; and the extension to the islands of the major acts of Congress, *e.g.*, income tax, prohibition, and New Deal measures.

The Naval administration was honest and fairly efficient. "But in general the Navy dodged responsibility when it was convenient to do so, and was not very active in the initiation and pursuit of long-range policies." The movement for a

new constitution between 1920 and 1930 was an educational experience for both congressmen and colonials on the responsibilities of government and of the governed. Administration under the Department of the Interior, after 1930, is the record of a generous program of rehabilitation and education. Its goal was economic self-sufficiency and the substitution, in place of a psychology of parasitic dependence, of a will among the natives to live responsibly on the private and civic levels of life. Only as this goal is in increasing measure attained will there be a prospect of complete responsible self-government in the Virgin Islands. The volume closes with the text of the organic act passed by Congress in 1936 extending to the islands a liberal installment of home rule.

*Pomona College*

FRANK W. PITMAN

**SOUTH AMERICA UNCENSORED: JUNGLES OF FASCISM, GENUINE GOOD-NEIGHBORLINESS, PORTRAIT OF A CONTINENT IN SEARCH OF FRONTIERS.** By *Roland Hall Sharp*, Docteur ès Sciences Politiques, Graduate Institute of International Studies, Geneva, and the University of Geneva; Staff Correspondent on Latin-American Affairs for the *Christian Science Monitor*. (New York: Longmans, Green and Company. 1945. Pp. xv, 353. \$3.50.)

For almost a decade Mr. Sharp has been traveling the highways and byways of South America, studying at first hand the political flora and fauna of the Good Neighborhood. He has now presented his findings on its economic and social realities and delivered himself of a vigorous attack, written in hot sincerity, upon the policy of the Department of State.

He has not found South America to be a land flowing with milk and honey, nor does it offer limitless possibilities for our citizens and our capital. Rather it is a poor land, with tremendous problems of transportation and climate, and it would be difficult, he believes, "to design a continent with more massive natural handicaps." His vivid and detailed description of present handicaps and the economic future of this continent is one of the principal contributions of the volume.

Nor are South American countries all stout supporters of democracy, despite their formal break with the Axis powers and their economic assistance toward the winning of the war. Worst of all, the Good Neighbor policy, as developed and practiced by the Department of State, has failed to lay down the foundations for a true democracy in South America. For that diplomacy consists in "building up the wrong people in South America, condoning dictatorship, loading them with honors, winking at their practice of fascism within their own countries, and otherwise discouraging South America's real democrats."

Mr. Sharp reserves much of his fire for the official policy toward Brazil. Censorship in Brazil and United States policy have prevented our public from learning the true facts of political life in the "Estado Novo" of Getulio Vargas,

he asserts, while our official wrath has been directed toward the dictatorship in Argentina. Brazil is at least as dangerous a fascist state as Argentina, states Mr. Sharp, and we have so built up her military might by lend-lease that we must accept a large share of the responsibility for arming in Brazil "the oldest, subtlest, and most deeply entrenched fascist state in South America."

Though much of the material presented in this volume has long been familiar to students of Latin-American affairs it now appears in popular dress. Historians will note that a knowledge of the Latin-American past would have improved Mr. Sharp's perspective, and political scientists will wonder whether the dangers of our intervention to support democratic forces might not in the long run defeat its purpose. Nowhere is there any complete realization that the policy of playing with dictatorships may have been forced upon us by wartime necessities. Nowhere is there any indication that Mr. Sharp has worked out a definite pattern of activities by which the United States government may build up democratic governments in South America, nor does he seem to be familiar with the solid achievements of such United States government agencies as the Interdepartmental Committee on Cultural and Scientific Cooperation, which since 1938 has been working, under the guidance of the State Department, to do many of the things he feels must be done to raise the standard of living of the people of South America.

In short, Mr. Sharp does not provide all the facts and points of view needed to work out a policy of genuine good neighborliness in the postwar world of the Americas—Brazilians especially would challenge his emphasis on political rather than on social democracy—but he has helped to precipitate a vigorous discussion of some basic problems.

The book has an individual quality, derived from the author's ability to write, his sympathetic feeling toward the land and people of South America, and his wide travels in the hinterland, for he is no boulevard journalist. An excellent index and photographs taken by the author to illustrate the points made in the text are valuable additions.

*Library of Congress*

LEWIS HANKE

**RUY BARBOSA: BRAZILIAN CRUSADER FOR THE ESSENTIAL FREEDOMS.** By *Charles W. Turner*. With a Foreword by His Excellency Dr. Oswaldo Aranha, Former Minister of Foreign Affairs of the United States of Brazil and Former Brazilian Ambassador at Washington. (Nashville: Abingdon-Cokesbury Press. 1945. Pp. 208. \$2.00.)

It is still a little early to know how important a niche Rui Barbosa fills in Brazilian history. Perhaps the purest exponent of liberalism in the Brazil of his day, he exerted an influence on his contemporaries that few have exceeded; and his passage across the political stage of his country was meteoric. No man better

voiced the liberal aspirations of his generation than Rui. He championed the abolition of slavery, took part in the overthrow of the monarchy, played a leading role in the early days of the republic, represented Brazil with brave distinction at the second Hague conference, fought the influence of the army in government, and sided with the Allies in the first World War. It is a pity for the biographer that his campaign for the presidency was unsuccessful. Rui was widely listened to, and his words were always respected; but his career offered him few opportunities to put his ideas into practice.

Rui was, in fact, a man of many public utterances. He had nothing particularly new or even novel to say; his ideas on church and state, on education, on politics and the like, were the common coin of liberals everywhere. But he clothed his thought in superb language. In a country attuned to the well-rounded phrase, that was Rui's great advantage: he was a born orator. And because he used his gift of speech so impeccably, Rui could sound brilliant even when his thoughts were commonplace. Moreover, he enjoyed the advantage of a stern morality, and the firmness of his character undoubtedly gave his words a ring of sincerity and of realism which they otherwise would not have had. A later generation, molded by the disillusionment that followed the first World War, might have been inclined to look upon Rui as a stuffy old gentleman with crotchets all his own. But everyone would agree that Rui, that extraordinarily busy Rui, was an amazing product of his age.

Mr. Turner published his account of the career of this unusual Brazilian at a moment when the world placed high hopes in the Atlantic Charter; and whether consciously or not, he timed the appearance of his book to make it all the easier to picture Rui as a crusader for the "essential freedoms." A man of Rui's stature obviously merits a biography, but the work that Mr. Turner has given us is hardly an adequate pen sketch, even for English readers, of Rui Barbosa. For Mr. Turner has written a book that is not free from a philosophical point of view which is not current enough to be accepted by everybody. And though one cannot question the author's good faith in the matter, there is no reason seriously to believe that Rui would have accepted it himself.

The life of Rui, as Mr. Turner has developed it, seems to be no more than a means to an end; and he has carried out his apparent purpose with such an array of misinformation as to make one wonder whether or not the cause of history might not better be served if the book were forgotten altogether. It is not necessary to point out the many faults that give evidence of the author's lack of historical preparation, or to suggest that a general introduction to Brazilian history, from Pedro Álvares Cabral to Rui Barbosa, is out of place in the biography. Quite apart from this, the book is an attempt by a Protestant missionary in Brazil to picture Rui as the exponent of Protestant virtues, *i.e.*, of the Four Freedoms, which are here identified with Protestantism and regarded as safe only in Protestant hands or, *faut de mieux*, in the hands of such people as the subject of the



present biography. It is, I think, a fine example of historical know-nothingism; and it will be shocking to some to realize that this particular brand of historical writing still has followers among us.

For the mature student of Brazilian history the book is of piddling use. For the less critical reader, if he bear in mind the author's limitations and his point of view, it will give him some idea of the life and career of Brazil's greatest modern exponent of liberalism.

*Catholic University of America*

MANOEL CARDOZO

# \* \* \* Other Recent Publications \* \* \*

## General History

EUROPE IN EVOLUTION, 1415-1815. By *Geoffrey Bruun*, Sarah Lawrence College. (Boston, Houghton Mifflin, 1945, pp. xvi, 533, ix, \$3.50.) Here is a fresh, vigorous introduction to the evolution of modern Europe. The transition from medieval to modern civilization is presented with particular skill, avoiding the sterile clichés anent the Middle Ages and the patronizing condescension which vitiate so many modern characterizations of medieval life. Notable is the emphasis placed on medieval achievement in technology—undreamed of in the commonly ignorant generalizations about the Middle Ages. There is a zest and liveliness, particularly in the chapters covering the fifteenth through the seventeenth centuries, which might have drawn from the late T. R., who was not without merit in appraising historical interpretation, an approving “bully”! Certain innovations in the conventional textbook arrangement accompany each chapter: a brief, suggestive, factual summary and introductory comment precedes; the body of the chapter is divided by novel and illuminating headings. It has been frequently remarked in recent comments and reviews that a general recasting of textbook interpretation of the European field is needed. Well, here is certainly a beginning, and an admirable one. The very excellence of some of the presentation and interpretation, necessarily compact, raises the question of whether the book will serve both students and teachers. There is no doubt that it should prove exceedingly stimulating to teachers, and to the keener students. The later chapters, on the eighteenth century, seem, perhaps unavoidably, to depart less from the conventional exposition and to lack something of the keenness which the author has elsewhere displayed in his study of the “enlightened despots.” One of the outstanding qualities of the book is the compelling interest and clarity of the sections dealing with the growth and analysis of ideas and of technological progress. Illustrations, maps, and graphs are good and, in some cases, interestingly unusual.

LAURENCE B. PACKARD

EUROPE SINCE 1914 IN ITS WORLD SETTING. By *F. Lee Bennis*, Indiana University. (New York, F. S. Crofts, 1945, pp. xviii, 672, 92, \$4.00.) A sixth edition, revised and brought up to date. For review of earlier edition see *American Historical Review*, XXXV (April, 1930), 672.

BACKGROUNDS OF CONFLICT: IDEAS AND FORMS IN WORLD POLITICS. By *Kurt London*. (New York, Macmillan, 1945, pp. xvi, 487, \$3.75.) Rather more than half this book is devoted to an analysis of the totalitarian systems in Germany, Italy, and Japan; there follow, in order, studies of the Soviet Union, Vichy France, Great Britain, and the United States. The last two sections, introduced for purposes of contrast, are intentionally meager, while the examination of the “painful intermezzo” of the transitory Vichy regime, which Dr. London includes as “an object lesson for citizens of all democracies,” produces naturally but a reflection of what is really the author’s preoccupation, the totalitarian state. The ideas underneath the scaffolding of each of these structures are discussed objectively and clearly before inspection of the organs through which power is maintained is made. The analysis, as its subtitle suggests, is fullest and perhaps most useful in its outline of the agencies of education and propaganda, and it is here that the totalitarian cliques have most in common,

however divergent their goals may be. The reliance on published programs and organizational data makes for a certain unreality, which deeper probing of the psychological peculiarities of Nazis, Fascists, and adherents of *Bushido*, and of Russian Communists as well, might have avoided. He tells how each regime controlled its young better than he explains how it became what it did become. Every room in the house, with each piece of furniture, stands out clearly, but the people in the rooms remain somehow shadowy. The economic complications are emphasized even less than the psychological, with the result that the interaction of world forces that caused war to burst out is not revealed. In suggesting problems of the future and how to deal with them the author goes somewhat beyond the topic he has chosen, readily as one may accept the assumptions that underlie what is at times an argument. Throughout the book the tone is reserved, the lurid aspects of an age of frightfulness are avoided, and there is shown little inclination to let sympathies temper facts. A useful selected bibliography is appended to each section; one misses in that on Nazi Germany the extremely enlightening, if ponderous and almost unreadable, *War against the West*, by Aurel Kolnai.

ALEXANDER BALTZLY

HISTORY OF PHOTOGRAPHY. By *Josef Maria Eder*. Translated by *Edward Epstein*, Honorary Fellow, Royal Photographic Society. (New York, Columbia University Press, 1945, pp. xx, 838, \$10.00.) A standard work now available in English.

INDEX OF MICROFILMS, SERIES A, LOTS 1-1737. (Washington, Publications Office, Library of Congress, 1945, pp. 26, free on application.) "An alphabetical index to the principal subjects of the first one hundred reels of microfilm copies of documentary photographs, including the photographic survey of the United States produced under the direction of Roy E. Stryker for the Farm Security Administration and the Office of War Information in 1935-1943."

HISTORY OF EDUCATIONAL THOUGHT. By *Robert Ulich*, Harvard University. (New York, American Book, 1945, pp. xii, 412, \$3.00.) Professor Ulich, who teaches the philosophy of education at Harvard University, presents his history chiefly through a series of concise interpretations of leading thinkers from Plato to John Dewey. In contrast to his earlier, too much neglected *Fundamentals of Democratic Education*, this volume is written in an extremely clear and simple style. Nevertheless acquaintance with the former helps markedly to understand the latter, for the philosophic point of view which he holds is, for the most part, only implicit in his present historical work. This point of view may be called neo-Kantian idealism. Professor Ulich is especially sympathetic with educational thinkers who ground their positions in some conception of the spiritual wholeness of life. Thus although socially liberal himself, he is severely critical of Dewey for being "radical" in overstressing the importance of scientific method to the neglect of ultimate values. At the same time, he believes he has discovered a fundamental shift in Dewey's own thinking which, in recent years, has led to a recognition of the need for such values. Although it is debatable whether the author is sound in this particular interpretation, there can be no doubt that he is thoroughly conversant with the thought of the educational theorists to whom he gives attention. Some of his discussions are perhaps too brief, but his treatments of Aristotle, Luther, Bacon, Descartes, Comenius, Locke, Rousseau, Pestalozzi, Froebel, and others are enlightening and to the point. To some extent he also gives attention to the cultural setting within which these educational philosophers developed their positions, but one could also wish that he had done so more extensively and penetratingly. His treatments of Franklin and Jefferson, for example, while otherwise commendable, almost wholly lack consideration of the powerful social forces

motivating their contributions to education. Perhaps one reason for such a lack is that Professor Ulich's preoccupation with the "deeper dimensions of being" diverts his attention on occasion from the historic context of educational theory.

THEODORE BRAMELD

LITERARY STUDY AND THE SCHOLARLY PROFESSION. By *Hardin Craig*, Professor of English, University of North Carolina; Walker-Ames Professor, University of Washington, 1944. [Walker-Ames Lectures.] (Seattle, University of Washington Press, 1944, pp. xiii, 150, \$2.25.) Rather than add to the mass of comprehensive plans for improving higher education in America, Professor Craig has devoted his Walker-Ames Lectureship at the University of Washington to setting forth the place of literary study in the larger world of scholarship and of civic duty. The result is a small and salutary book made up of ten essays on related phases of humanistic thought and action. One cannot read a page without being sure that the author is a man of ripe experience and sharp observation, whose standards of judgment have been formed, not according to arbitrary rules of pedagogy, nor through immediate apprehensions of expediency, but by conversation with the great minds of the literary tradition. He speaks with a pleasant pungency, dogmatizes without apology or offense, and moves easily from the learned to the familiar in illustrating his views. He tells us, for example, that "the simplest and commonest things in life are notoriously badly done. Cooking is in general unskilful. The army has to begin by teaching boys to walk, and walking is one of the commonest of human acts. . . . We eat the wrong things at the wrong times and in the wrong quantities." All of which leads us to the fact that "one of the things we do most commonly and do worst is talking"; and so we are not surprised when a few lines later our author mentions Swift, whose mind he has studied with especial care and now emulates in simple and passionate reasonableness. If a general truth emerges from Professor Craig's many-sided criticism, it is that literary study and scholarship and the opportunities of higher education should all tend towards making a man more aware of himself. This is to be done with the clear purpose of making him a more moral being, socially responsible, and—given a certain kind of luck—intellectually productive. The author's aim is high, but his expectations are moderate. He asks for application, conscientiousness, exactitude; but he does not ask for genius; he will be content to receive it when it comes, and he will meantime have formed a generation also able and willing to welcome the "original force" which ideally every graduate student should train himself to be. Part of the scholar's equipment on which Professor Craig insists is a knowledge of history, and "no vague, general knowledge will do. The knowledge needs to descend to individuals, families, groups, political parties, and economic and religious interests. Records are not about causes and policies; they are about people and events. . . . Students of the history of literature need to know the historical method and to be trained in it. They need it," our author is sure, "as badly as the historians themselves." If this last sentence is not a malicious sideswipe, it is a useful reassertion of history's role in the study of literature at a time when many critics have sought to discredit the connection in favor of "pure" esthetic or semantic treatment. Professor Craig's assurance is well motivated. His high regard for history relates to his desire for self-awareness, which implies a tradition making us who we are. It relates also to the peculiar nature of artistic influence, to its character of withstanding and indeed requiring successive distillations. We can now understand Shakespeare better, as Professor Craig reminds us, because "he has passed through the minds of Dryden, Theobald, Johnson, Malone, Coleridge," and so on down to Dover Wilson. Without repeating a single one of the invincible platitudes about the role of the humanities in the life of man and in the just balance

of a university curriculum, Professor Craig has justified them. This is a worthy achievement. Would that essays equally sturdy in design and detail were being written in behalf of the other disciplines.  
JACQUES BARZUN

ROUSSEAU, KANT, GOETHE: TWO ESSAYS. By *Ernst Cassirer*. Translated from the German by *James Gutmann, Paul Oskar Kristeller, and John Herman Randall, Jr.* [History of Ideas Series, No. 1.] (Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1945, pp. 98, \$1.50.) These penetrating essays trace the influence of Rousseau upon Kant and of the latter upon Goethe. They are chips from the workshop of one of the great minds exiled by Hitler. America was Professor Cassirer's last refuge, and here he died in April, 1945. The translators have done their work well. It is a worthy little volume with which to begin the "History of Ideas Series."

THE DIPLOMATIC MISSION OF JOHN LOTHROP MOTLEY TO AUSTRIA, 1861-1867. By *Sister M. Claire Lynch*. (Washington, Catholic University of America Press, 1944, pp. viii, 159.) Assigning a doctor's thesis subject is always a chancy business. There was no reason why an account of Motley's mission to Austria should not have been highly interesting. But it does not turn out to be, and the fault is by no means that of the author. The plain truth of the matter is that one feels, after reading her work, that Motley was only mildly interested in his job, and that he cared more for dinner parties with the best people and for the history of the Dutch Republic than he did for the state of politics in the Dual Monarchy. On the side of internal affairs, he fell down scandalously, especially towards the end of his mission. The *Ausgleich* of 1867 is one of the most important constitutional developments in the history of Austria-Hungary. Motley seems to have given it only the barest attention. Nor is there anything very exciting about his reports on diplomatic affairs. His judgments were not particularly penetrating; he seems to have been far from adept in collecting information on European affairs; and he showed at Vienna, as later at London, a considerable reluctance to accept and follow the instructions that came from Washington. Sister Lynch, then, has had no easy task to make significant what is intrinsically of secondary importance. She has enlarged the size of her work by a third by describing the earlier life of Motley, and by discussing (not always very clearly) the constitutional developments that preceded Motley's mission. She has faithfully followed the principal sources; but one wishes that there were more interpretation in her treatment of the subject than there actually is. One wonders, too, whether greater attention to style might not have been possible. But to say that is to open up a large question, the discussion of which might reveal a good many miserable sinners among the members of the guild.  
DEXTER PERKINS

ARMENIA AND THE BYZANTINE EMPIRE: A BRIEF STUDY OF ARMENIAN ART AND CIVILIZATION. By *Sirarpie Der Nersessian*. Preface by Henri Grégoire. (Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1945, pp. xxi, 148, plates, \$3.00.) This work is a major contribution to the study of a neglected subject. Its author, professor of art at Wellesley College, aims to bring out certain characteristics of Armenian art as reflected in architecture, in sculpture, and in painting. She is eminently successful in her attempt. All five chapters of the book were originally prepared in French for a series of lectures at the Institut de Philologie et d'Histoire Orientales et Slaves of the Ecole Libre des Hautes Etudes (New York) in 1942. Translation of these lectures plus a bibliography, a chronology of Armenian rulers, transliteration of the Armenian alphabet, and thirty-two pages of plates are now offered to the public. The first chapter is a compact and adequate "Historical Survey" from the earliest times to the end of the fourteenth century. In the next chapter, "Religious Controversies," the author

explains and disposes of issues still sadly misunderstood and misinterpreted. Armenians often occupied the Byzantine throne (once "for almost two centuries" beginning 867); they distinguished themselves as military leaders; and they were also successful as administrators (as the Exarch Isaac of Ravenna early in the seventh century and Gregory the Taronite late in the tenth century); yet it was considered impossible to reconcile Armenian aspirations with Byzantine interests. Only in the cultural domain the relations of Armenians with the empire were "fruitful." In the chapter on architecture the author follows the path opened by Choisy, Millet, and especially by Strzygowski without, however, claiming a major role for Armenian architecture as did the Vienna professor in his monumental *Die Baukunst der Armenier und Europa* (2 vols., 1918). She also refutes the assertion that Armenian architecture is a "mere expression of Byzantine art," for the former differs from the latter "in many important respects and some experiments tried, and successfully carried through, in Armenia were never attempted within the frontiers of the Byzantine empire" (p. 61). She finds that Armenian sculpture, being "primarily architectural," is even less closely related to the Byzantine art, while it is admitted that Armenian painting is "indebted to Byzantine art." Miss Der Nersessian's first English work naturally follows the pattern of continental European scholarship at its best. The opening sentence of Professor Grégoire's preface, "*Voici un beau livre, simple, sûr, stimulant, plein de science, de charme et de foi,*" though seemingly flattering, is not only true but also expresses European tradition as it comes from the author's *quasi-maître*: the book is actually full of learning, and it is lively. One can only hope that to this work the author will some day add studies on Armenian literature and music, and then bring out a history of Armenian art in all its expressive forms.

A. O. SARKISSIAN

CYPRUS, PAST AND FUTURE. By *Doros Vlastos*. (London, Clarke, 1945, pp. 75.) Published by the Committee for Cyprus Affairs, this book is mainly historical, tracing the story of the Greek island from its eight centuries of Byzantine rule through its brief independence under Isaac Comnenus, its capture by Richard Coeur de Lion in 1191, who married Berengaria there, and the Lusignan, Genoese, and Venetian domination from 1196 to the Turkish conquest in 1571. This date is misprinted "1471" (p. 3), but given correctly on page 23, note, where the conquest is ascribed to the sultan's thirst for Cypriot wine. In the account of the Anglo-Turkish Convention of 1878 there is no allusion to the secret official documents, published in the *English Historical Review*, which show that none of the British military or naval experts advocated Disraeli's acquisition of Cyprus, but preferred Astypheia with its two fine harbors to the single port of Famagusta. Annexation came in 1914, and in 1915 the British government offered Cyprus to Greece if Greece entered the war in aid of Serbia; but Zaimis, the Greek premier, refused. Venizelos told the reviewer that Lloyd George discussed with him the exchange of Cyprus for Argostoli, the harbor of Cephalonia. The revolution of 1931 is attributed to economic causes as well as to union with Greece, for which the British cession of the Ionian Islands (in 1864, wrongly dated, p. 37) was cited as a precedent. Italy's attack on Greece brought Cypriots into the late war, and a Cypriot regiment fought in Greece.

WILLIAM MILLER

THE NETHERLANDS AND THE UNITED STATES. By *Bernard H. M. Vlekke*, Professor of History of the Netherlands Government Historical Institute of Rome. [America Looks Ahead, A Pamphlet Series, No. 10.] (Boston, World Peace Foundation, 1945, pp. 96, 50 cents.) This little book is not so much a study of Dutch-American relations as it is an attempt to explain the main problems of the Netherlands to the American people. It stresses the crucial importance—strategic, economic,



diplomatic—of this small western European nation to the United States, and emphasizes the urgent need for American aid in its material reconstruction. The style is clear and readable, the language is simple, and there are useful statistics. By its very nature an introductory sketch, the book's treatment of many subjects is somewhat sketchy and cursory. Naturally the picture presented is not unduly critical of either the United States or the Netherlands; there is very little effort at independent analysis or critical thought. Dr. Vlekke's explanation of modern political alignments in the Netherlands is particularly superficial, saying very little about the role of labor, the position of the resistance movement, or the relation of the parties to conflicting economic interests. In his consideration of the future prospects of Indonesia, the author, writing in March, 1945, suggests that the area must become either a mandate of the Netherlands or a self-governing member of a Greater Netherlands Union. He flatly dismisses the possibility of an international trusteeship as "generally considered impractical" (p. 69). In view of the bloody events which have since occurred in Java as a result of the efforts to reimpose Dutch rule, it would be interesting to know whether Dr. Vlekke still considers such a course impractical. The Indonesians seemingly do not think so.

SOLOMON WILLIS RUDY

SMOULDERING FREEDOM: THE STORY OF THE SPANISH REPUBLICANS IN EXILE. By *Isabel de Palencia*. (New York, Longmans, Green, 1945, pp. 271, \$3.00.)

AN ATLAS OF POLITICAL PARTIES IN AUSTRALIA AND THE UNITED STATES. By *Everett M. Claspy*. (Washington, Office of War Information, 1945, unpaginated, 50 cents.)

INTERNATIONAL LAW DOCUMENTS, 1943. [Naval War College, Newport, R. I.] (Washington, Government Printing Office, 1945, pp. v, 138.)

WORLD POLICING AND THE CONSTITUTION: AN INQUIRY INTO THE POWERS OF THE PRESIDENT AND CONGRESS, NINE WARS AND A HUNDRED MILITARY OPERATIONS, 1789-1945. By *James Grafton Rogers*, Former Assistant Secretary of State of the United States. [America Looks Ahead: A Pamphlet Series, No. 11.] (Boston, World Peace Foundation, 1945, pp. 123, cloth 50 cents, paper 25 cents.)

A REVIEW OF ALLIED MILITARY GOVERNMENT AND OF THE ALLIED COMMISSION IN ITALY: JULY 10, 1943, D-DAY SICILY, TO MAY 2, 1945, GERMAN SURRENDER IN ITALY. (Public Relations Branch, Allied Commission, U. S. Army, 1945, pp. 125.)

ATOMIC ENERGY FOR MILITARY PURPOSES: THE OFFICIAL REPORT ON THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE ATOMIC BOMB UNDER THE AUSPICES OF THE UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT, 1940-1945. By *Henry DeWolf Smyth*, Chairman, Department of Physics, Princeton University, Consultant, Manhattan District, U. S. Engineers. Written at the request of Maj. Gen. L. R. Groves, U.S.A. (Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1945, pp. ix, 264, cloth \$2.00, paper \$1.25.)

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## ARTICLES

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 HOWARD MUMFORD JONES. "The Gay Science." *Ibid.*  
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 THOMAS WOODY. World Integration and Education. *Pol. Sci. Quar.*, Sept.  
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Ancient History<sup>1</sup>

T. R. S. Broughton

- ENKI AND NINHURSAG: A SUMERIAN "PARADISE" MYTH. By Samuel N. Kramer. [Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research, Supplementary Studies, No. 1.] (New Haven, American Schools of Oriental Research, 1945, pp. 40, 75 cents.)
- THE THREE AGES: AN ESSAY ON ARCHAEOLOGICAL METHOD. By Glyn E. Daniel of the Faculty of Archaeology and Anthropology and Fellow of St. John's College, Cambridge. (Cambridge, at the University Press; New York, Macmillan, 1944, pp. 60, 85 cents.) This brief essay gives a clear account of the origin of the

<sup>1</sup> Under this and the following headings unsigned notices are, in general, contributed by the persons whose names appear at the heads of the divisions and who are otherwise responsible only for the lists of articles and documents.

concept—which became a cornerstone of archaeology—that early man's progress toward civilization led through three successive ages, the Stone Age, the Bronze Age, and the Iron Age. Though he had formulated the theory some twenty years earlier, it was first published in 1836 by a Danish scholar, Christian J. Thomsen, for nearly half a century curator of the National Museum in Copenhagen. His concept was based on induction after a study of material in the museum; but that it actually corresponded with fact was demonstrated by Thomsen's pupil J. J. A. Worsaae through excavations in Danish peat bogs where he carefully observed the stratification. Conceived as applying to Denmark and Scandinavia, the idea of the three ages was soon generally adopted by archaeologists who ultimately extended its application to the whole European continent, the Near East, and a large part of Asia, with various complicating modifications. After a critical examination and analysis of the theory (with specific definitions of terms) Daniel concludes that it is still useful in its original sense, namely, as distinguishing three technological stages through which primitive man in Europe gradually worked his way. But since those stages clearly varied enormously from area to area, and sometimes from place to place within areas, in the types of objects produced, in the races and cultures represented, in actual dating, and in many other respects, Daniel protests strongly against the frequent unwarranted use of this triple system of terminology by writers who employ it in typological, cultural, chronological, functional-economic, and ethnic senses—a misuse which results only in inaccuracy and confusion. It is true that loose and careless use of terms has often been made in the archaeological field as well as in others; but serious archaeologists have long been aware of this, and have been on their guard. Daniel's words of caution are of course sound and salutary; perhaps it was time for them to be spoken, and his demand for accurate, exact use of a terminology must be applauded. But it seems to the reviewer that some straw men have also been set up and knocked down in this academic essay.

C. W. BLEGEN

**LATIN PSEUDEPIGRAPHIA: A STUDY IN LITERARY ATTRIBUTIONS.** By *Evelyn Holst Clift*. (Baltimore, privately printed, 1945, pp. 158.) This is in the main a competent essay. Miss Clift, after a chapter on "Libraries and Literary Interests in the Roman World," collects and discusses afresh the evidence and arguments for and against the authenticity of lost plays attributed to Plautus, certain letters and speeches of the republican period, and poetical works of the Augustan Age that at one time or another have been held suspect. She would find a connection between pseudepigraphical literature and the literary interests of the Romans, their libraries, and their book trade. Thus, the establishment of state libraries, "by setting official seal upon standard collections, tended to lessen the possibility of false accretions to an author's authentic work" (p. 123). Conversely, in the case of Plautus, the attribution of many doubtful plays to him, was, if not caused, at least facilitated by the absence of such libraries and at first also of a reading public. No one will deny that Miss Clift's contentions have some cogency; but they tell only a part of the story. The phenomenon of pseudepigrapha was not peculiar to Rome and might be brought about by quite other factors. In the Greek world where libraries in time were abundant and where the Alexandrian critics were active in separating what was genuine from what was not, the fathering one's own composition on some better known author went gaily on. In the Middle Ages the process flourished even more, witness the many works attributed wrongly to fathers of the church and to notable writers of a later age, like Bede. A few points of detail provoke comment. The statement of Ammianus (XIV, 6, 18) about libraries in Rome occurs in a highly rhetorical passage and must not be pressed. Miss Clift might have pointed out that Ammianus' own extraordinarily wide reading in Latin literature

from Cicero to Ausonius argues exceptional library facilities in Antioch and Rome. Why does she ignore the *Auctor ad Herennium*, who implies clearly (IV, 5, 7) that in his day (c. 87 B.C.) speeches of Cato, the Gracchi, Laelius, and Scipio were available for study? The speeches introduced by historians into their narratives are in no sense pseudepigraphical. Miss Clift seems not to understand their nature and purpose clearly and would do well to consult some such work as *La technique des discours dans Salluste, Tite Live, et Tacite* by Ragnar Ullman (Oslo, 1927). One deplores also the fashionable, but inept, assumption (p. 88) that Livy was incapable of composing anything independently of his sources. Why should Miss Clift assume (p. 152) that Cicero when he wrote *De oratore* knew less of early Roman literature than when he composed the *Brutus*? The absence of certain names in *De oratore* proves nothing whatever, as the purpose of this treatise was entirely different. Miss Clift has here indulged in the worst kind of *argumentum ex silentio*.  
M. L. W. LAISTNER

## GENERAL ARTICLES

- A. LEO OPPENHEIM and LOUIS F. HARTMAN. The Domestic Animals of Ancient Mesopotamia. *Jour. Near East. Stud.*, July.  
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## Medieval History

Bernard J. Holm

- S. AURELI AUGUSTINI DE BEATA VITA. A Translation with an Introduction and Commentary by *Ruth Allison Brown*. [The Catholic University of America Patristic Studies, Volume LXXII.] (Washington, Catholic University of America Press, 1944, pp. xvii, 193.) The Dialogues of Cassiciacum, of which this is one, are of peculiar interest in the career of St. Augustine as reflecting his transition from the secular professorship to his role as the greatest Latin theological scholar of antiquity. The author's contribution to our knowledge of this dialogue is primarily literary. She has given us an improved translation and has added something to our knowledge of the literary background, the dialogue form, and literary relationship. The life and activities of Cassiciacum are revealed incidentally in the introduction and commentary.  
 A. C. KREY

- SAINT AUGUSTIN. By *Louis Bertrand*. (Montreal, Les Editions Variétés, 1945, pp. 317, \$1.50.)

- RUFINUS, THE TRANSLATOR: A STUDY OF HIS THEORY AND HIS PRACTICE AS ILLUSTRATED IN HIS VERSION OF THE *APOLOGETICA* OF ST. GREGORY NAZIANZEN. A dissertation by *Sister M. Monica Wagner*, Dunbarton College of Holy Cross, Washington, D. C. [The Catholic University of America Patristic Studies, Volume LXXIII.] (Washington, Catholic University of America Press, 1945, pp. xiii, 100.)

- SIGTUNA: SVERIGES ÄLDSTA MEDELTIDSSTAD. By *Erik Floderus*. (Stockholm, Hugo Gebers Förlag, 1941, pp. 159, kr. 5.50.) The author has dealt with the medieval town of Sigtuna on Lake Mälaren on several previous occasions. Most accessible to English readers probably is his "Sigtuna: A Summary of Recent Research concerning Sweden's Oldest Medieval City" in *Acta Archaeologica*, I (1930). Founded early in the eleventh century as a haven for the new Christian religion, Sigtuna, to begin with, was a spiritual challenge to Uppsala, the old center of heathenism. Though it never

attained episcopal priority, Sigtuna retained throughout the medieval period a spiritual pre-eminence. When the Dominicans came to Sweden they established headquarters here and in time their library came to be perhaps the foremost depository of scholarship in Sweden. The churches of the community, several of them with guild associations, bore witness to the town's commercial importance. As a successor to Birka, it provided a nexus for trade routes to Britain on the one hand, to Novgorod and Kiev on the other. After the Reformation, Sigtuna decayed, and by the nineteenth century amounted to little more than scattered ruins. But early in the twentieth century, the community was rejuvenated by certain currents within the Swedish national church which established here a center of Christian culture and a retreat for spiritual rest. A complex of buildings has been erected to house a folk high school, a humanistic secondary school, a library, a hospice, assembly rooms, and a chapel. The author does not discuss the modern role of the community but those who would understand how Sigtuna has come to be important again in our time will do well to read this volume by Floderus.

O. J. FALNES

GHILLEBERT DE LANNOY IN MEDIEVAL LITHUANIA: VOYAGES AND EMBASSIES OF AN ANCESTOR OF ONE OF AMERICA'S GREAT PRESIDENTS. By *Petras Klimas*. An Introduction by *Constantine R. Jurgela*. (New York, Lithuanian American Information Center, 1945, pp. 96.) BALTIC ESSAYS. By *Alfred Bilmanis*. (Washington, Latvian Legation, 1945, pp. 268.) In the twenty years of independence between the World Wars a major objective of historical scholarship in northeastern Europe was the rewriting, from a distinctly national though far from provincial viewpoint, of the annals of the Baltic peoples. In default of a full, locally documented history, it became necessary, in order to bridge the gap between archaeological research into prehistory and the beginnings of written history, to explore the records of western and central European states. Historians thus sought to push back the frontiers of recorded history and fill with incontrovertible data the lacunae in the record of life among the Estonians, Letts, and Lithuanians. This both the volumes before us essay, and with no little success. Klimas, the able documentarian of the final hours of Lithuania's renaissance, has found and deciphered in the Royal Belgian Library and the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris, as well as in the private archives of the De Lannoy family an authentic account not only of Lithuania but also of Muscovy and the Ukraine in the age of Vytautas the Great. The carefully edited manuscript gives verbal corroboration to data hitherto largely deducible only from cartographic evidence and the earliest known woodcuts of, let us say, sixteenth century Vilna. The work was undertaken by Klimas while he was Lithuanian minister in Paris, and, brought to completion in 1930, gives evidence of the most meticulous scholarly research. Only after the author was in the hands of the Gestapo in 1944 did Mr. Jurgela publish what must be regarded as an excellent rendition into English, alike from the Lithuanian and from Old French. The result is to provide our generation with a clear and sympathetic picture of Vitoldian Lithuania in 1413, 1414, and 1421; it is accompanied by a valuable critical discussion of sources by the translator and an accurate and pertinent bibliography. Dr. Bilmanis' essays are not the work of a professional historian but rather of an inveterate bibliophile with a passionate curiosity and breadth of interest which permits the correlation of relevant information from other countries without loss of a continuous perspective. For a score or more of years he has put before a lay public data of many-sided character in the implicit faith that pertinent facts will, in the long run, be their own justification. Although the volume is of uneven merit, the American public will be beholden to Dr. Bilmanis for prodigious efforts at bringing between the covers of a single volume practically the nub of

everything Latvian and much that is Baltic. Historical scholarship is left in his debt for the amassing of data from medieval German ecclesiastical chronicles and both medieval and modern Polish sources bearing on Latvian history—chiefly on the thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth centuries. Those acquainted with the author's earlier writings will find fortunately preserved, at the close of a bourgeois phase of Latvian history, many minutiae which are unlikely to be widely verifiable by future visitors to a region twice devastated by World War II. The bibliography with which Dr. Bilmanis concludes the volume is especially useful for its inclusion of Polish and Latvian sources hitherto only slightly known and not extensively utilized.

MALBONE W. GRAHAM

THE WORKS OF HROSWITHA. By Zoltán Haraszti. (In *More Books: The Bulletin of the Boston Public Library*, Volume XX [1945], Numbers 3 and 4, pp. 87-119, 139-73.) The weighty scholarship of Köpke and Wattenbach, of Winterfeld and Strecker, on the works of Hroswitha has been so completely accepted by medievalists that it is no slight shock to be reminded by Haraszti that in 1867 Joseph Aschbach tried to prove that the legends and plays of Hroswitha were in fact a forgery by Conrad Celtes and his friends about 1500. This would not be upsetting by itself; one could assume hitherto that Aschbach was completely refuted by the eminent scholars who damned his work to oblivion. But Haraszti presents a useful summary of Aschbach's arguments, which emphasized the absence of notices of Hroswitha manuscripts in medieval library catalogues, the nationalistic pride of Celtes, who in reply to the snobbery of Italian humanists wished to create an early example of a learned German woman, the strangeness of a rather vulgar sense of humor in a nun of the tenth century, stylistic habits which seemed to belong to the humanists, and the love of forging literary documents that flourished in the humanist circle of which Celtes was a member. Haraszti therefore believes that Aschbach still deserves consideration. He remains open-minded, but finds it strange that Winterfeld and Strecker, not to mention others, have not adequately studied the manuscripts, strange above all that their conclusions, particularly those based on paleography, have not been accompanied by published photographs to enable others to judge their work. Thus he maintains that there is a possibility that the plays of Hroswitha were written by Celtes and other humanists, and that the recently discovered manuscripts containing fragments of the plays cannot yet be definitely assigned to the eleventh and twelfth centuries. Because of his doubts I must agree "that further research on one side and a thorough scientific examination of the manuscripts on the other are needed before the authenticity of Hroswitha's works can be finally decided." Haraszti's statement of the problem should cause a scholarly rush to find once more and study the manuscripts—if they have survived the war.

G. Post

MINISTERS' ACCOUNTS OF THE EARLDOM OF CORNWALL, 1296-1297. Volume II. Edited for the Royal Historical Society by L. Margaret Midgley. [Camden Third Series, Volume LXVIII.] (London, Royal Historical Society, 1945, pp. vi, 151-342.) The first half of this long record of ministers' accounts of the earldom of Cornwall covering a single year was published in 1942 with a scholarly introduction based on the whole collection of documents and was later well reviewed in the *American Historical Review* (XLVIII, 638). The present volume contains the final half of the text of the record with a few notes, a glossary, and an index of persons and places. These materials are of great interest and are worth a little further comment. They furnish evidence that some great lords were trying to centralize their financial administration. Yet the officials of the earl's exchequer had no notion of



requiring a complete survey of all revenues and expenditures, including services and payments in kind, connected with the administration of the lands of the earldom. In these accounts, each of the nine stewards reported to the exchequer the amount of cash which he had collected, the amounts which he had paid out, or had delivered at the exchequer or wardrobe of the earl, and the amount still in his possession. Some bad debts are listed, yet we cannot tell how great a proportion remained uncollected for the original sum owed by each debtor or in each area is never set forth. These accounts reflect the intense interest of the magnates and their officials in the cash income, a great cause of their power. The sources of the revenue were ancient. The income grew out of the enforcement of the customary rules of feudal and manorial law concerning the tenure of lands, aids, services, rents in kind, pasture rights, and the like, as modified by the introduction to a greater or less degree, over a long period, of money payments. The courts were also so closely connected with the evolution of the new revenue in money that one often speaks of the "profits of justice." These changes benefited the lords, but lesser men also profited. They might have part of their services commuted into a money rent; a serf could live away from his manor on payment of a small annual fee; he could have his grain ground at a mill other than that of his lord for a fee; he could be exempt from tallage if he paid an increment on his rent; he could have an inquest to determine his status for a fee. In these and other ways freedom was extended, no doubt often on the initiative of the small men. If this and similar records from other years and areas are analyzed, new light will be thrown on the society and history of the age.

SYDNEY K. MITCHELL

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- V. H. GALBRAITH. James Tait. *Eng. Hist. Rev.*, May.  
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Modern European History

BRITISH EMPIRE

Françis H. Herrick

MARIE STUART, QUEEN OF SCOTS: A CONCISE BIBLIOGRAPHY. By Samuel A. and Dorothy R. Tannenbaum. [Elizabethan Biographies.] (New York, S. A. Tannenbaum, 1945, pp. 84, \$4.75.)

THE JOURNAL OF RICHARD NORWOOD, SURVEYOR OF BERMUDA. With Introductions by Wesley Frank Craven, Assistant Professor of History, New York University, and Walter B. Hayward, of the Staff, New York Times. (New York, published for the Bermuda Historical Trust by Scholars' Facsimiles and Reprints, 1945, pp. xcii, 163, \$3.50.) Richard Norwood (1590-1675)—mathematician, surveyor, inventor, schoolmaster, author, planter, and, not least, Puritan—illustrates again the multiple character of seventeenth century personalities. After some years of meager schooling, wandering, and sailing, he went out to Bermuda in 1613 as an expert diver but remained as a surveyor. In 1617 he went back to England, where during the next two decades he enjoyed some distinction as a mathematician. Thereafter he lived in Bermuda to contribute substantially as schoolmaster and planter to the colony's life. Shortly upon his return he wrote the journal here printed, which covers only the period up to 1620. In addition to much information concerning the way company shares were distributed and the confusion over titles, the journal contains much purely personal material. His conversion, the cataloguing of his sins, and his regimen for salvation share space with accounts of his reading. This latter included *inter alia* Alhazen's *Optics*, Vergil, a manuscript by Stevin, St. Augustine, and William Perkins. As a mathematician he was the first to use certain trigonometric abbreviations; as an author his most significant work was *The Seaman's Practice*, which went through eighteen editions. This volume therefore is an informing contribution to many aspects of the history of seventeenth century Britain, and its worth is increased by the inclusion of Norwood's informative "Description of the Sommer Ilands," his prayers, a lengthy inventory of his estate, and a bibliography of his writings. The

"Description" with its account of the settlement, early history, geology, climate, and resources of the islands supplements the journal most happily. CHARLES F. MULLETT

THE LETTER-BOOK OF JOHN VISCOUNT MORDAUNT, 1658-1660. Edited for the Royal Historical Society by *Mary Coate*. [Camden Third Series, Volume LXIX.] (London, Royal Historical Society, 1945, pp. xxiv, 196.) The original letter-book is in the John Rylands Library, Manchester, as part of a collection purchased from Earl Spencer of Althorp. This scholarly edition, by Miss Coate of Lady Margaret Hall, Oxford, contributes to an understanding of the intrigues and machinations which from May, 1658, concerned themselves with the Restoration. It illumines the complex connections of the royal exiles, of Marshal Schomberg, Turenne, and Mazarin; of Luis de Haro on behalf of Philip IV; and of such interesting lesser folk as the Benedictine abbess of Ghent, Daniel O'Neill, and that enigmatic member of the Sealed Knot, Sir Richard Willis. John Mordaunt, commissioner of exiled majesty, is at the center of the web, as is also his wife—his "cousin" and "true joy." It is she who proves the more consummate plotter, having greater skill and discretion, and, one surmises, greater integrity. Though the ciphers of the couple are lacking, this presents no great obstacle to clarity. Both Lord and Lady Mordaunt were abstemious in their use—the husband so much so as to be admonished by Sir Edward Hyde. The letter-book teaches that to wield a long sword one must have a long purse. It marks the growth in ambition of the courtier, warmed by the ascension of the Stuart sun. The commissioner, at first, wished only to serve, then, being housed as neighbor to the king, and hastened to Paris by Turenne's loan of coach and eight, Mordaunt aspires successively to become gentleman of the bedchamber, secretary of state, treasurer of the realm. As his own person is irradiated, others turn to him, as sunflowers to the sun. Of especial interest is the correspondence dealing with the effort at a junction with the Presbyterians, that exhibiting the statecraft of the king and that showing the shifts in policy of the London apprentices, who, having driven out the father, wished to recall the son. As frontispiece there is a copy of William Faithorne's engraving of Lord Mordaunt, made from a now time-blackened portrait. Minor blemishes occur in the editing, as should be expected in a period of stress and strain: on pages 56, 102, 171, numbered references in the text lack corresponding footnotes. However, the important thing is that Miss Coate's scholarship commendably maintains the high quality associated with publications in the Camden series.

DORA NEILL RAYMOND

THE ENGLISH SPIRIT: ESSAYS IN HISTORY AND LITERATURE. By *A. L. Rowse*, Fellow of All Souls College, Oxford. (New York, Macmillan, 1945, pp. x, 275, \$2.75.) The world today has a new appreciation of the character of the English people. For six long years, from 1939 to 1945, England has undergone one of the most grueling tests ever demanded of a nation. The scars will testify to that ordeal for many decades, but the English spirit has emerged triumphant. Just what is the English spirit? Is it a blend of arrogance, self-sufficiency, insularity, and disdain, as Anglophobes would have us believe? Or is it a mixture of understatement, modesty, conciliation, and political genius, as Anglophiles contend? To Mr. Rowse the English spirit is an attitude of mind, expressed in its fight for civilization against scientific barbarism; it is an uncommon love of the past, for that aggregate of tradition and history which constitutes that past; it is a deep love for the town and the country and for the men both great and small whose lives are associated intimately with things English. The reader will find an element of enlightenment, of inspiration, and of surprise in this book. It is enlightening to read Mr. Rowse's interpretations of great

men such as Pym, Hampden, Falkland, and Clarendon; Horace Walpole and Dean Swift; Froude, Carlyle, and Macaulay. It is inspiring to visit the old music school at Oxford, to see Elizabeth at Rycote, or to imagine the pictures coming to life in an antiquated deanery. And it is surprising to read the author's unsparing criticism of English policies and officials, especially when one knows that such strictures were publicly expressed in no uncertain terms before 1939. A pertinent example of such frank criticism is seen in the following quotation: "In our own time there has come about a certain reaction in our way of viewing the struggle between King and Parliament which filled much of the seventeenth century, a reaction led by a school of popular Tory historians and by Mr. Belloc. They have introduced a way of reading our history upside-down, not merely sentimentalising the Stuarts, but making *them* out to be the patriotic caretakers of the nation's interests—even Charles II, who notoriously sold the country's interests, just as Baldwin and Co. let them go by default" (p. 157). This volume is just what its subtitle says: essays in history and literature. About twenty-six chapters pertain to history and twelve to literature. For the American reader the most interesting chapters probably will be those entitled "Mr. Winston Churchill and English History," "The English Spirit," and "The Use of History," but the remaining chapters are uniformly interesting, refreshing, and delightfully written.

LELAND H. CARLSON

**EIGHTEENTH CENTURY PIETY.** By *W. K. Lowther Clarke*. (London, Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge; New York, Macmillan, 1945, pp. viii, 160, \$2.75.) This small volume is made up of nineteen chapters averaging slightly more than eight pages. It is a collection of articles and notes, covering the years approximately from 1670 to 1850, written and mostly published in periodicals during the last thirty years. The use of the word "piety" in the title Mr. Clarke justifies by stating that *pietas* signifies filial affection and that this is exactly what he feels toward the persons he has studied. The first chapter or essay entitled "Pastoralia" is a gem. The author has set himself the task of describing church life in eighteenth century England by analyzing the books and pamphlets put out by the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge. He deals successively with churchmanship, services, sacraments, home life, moral corruption, biography, various classes, clergy, controversy, and foreign missions. His conclusions, based on this research, indicate that life in the eighteenth century Anglican church did not follow the pattern described by so many nineteenth century historians. On a small scale Mr. Clarke has done as effective work in "Pastoralia" in correcting unfair generalizations as Miss M. G. Jones, Dr. Wickham Legg, and Dr. N. Sykes have done in their larger works. The same high praise cannot be given to the last eighteen chapters. In "Pastoralia" Mr. Clarke set himself a research task and performed it superbly; in chapters two and three he deals with certain phases in the life of Henry Newman, who was for many years secretary of the S.P.C.K.; and in the last sixteen chapters he treats briefly sixteen different topics. When these chapters were published as notes in periodicals they undoubtedly had merit, but when they are strung together in a book without any attempt to give unity to the work as a whole, the reader is affected much as the Scotsman was who attempted to read a dictionary. The reviewer regrets that Mr. Clarke did not give us four more articles like "Pastoralia" instead of excavating these notes from periodicals.

DONALD GROVE BARNES

**LETTERS OF THOMAS HOOD: FROM THE DILKE PAPERS IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM.** Edited with an Introduction and Notes by *Leslie A. Marchand*. [Rutgers University Studies in English, Number Four.] (New Brunswick, Rutgers University Press, 1945, pp. viii, 104.)

THOMAS DAVIS, 1814-45: A CENTENARY ADDRESS DELIVERED IN TRINITY COLLEGE, DUBLIN, ON 12 JUNE 1945 AT A PUBLIC MEETING OF THE COLLEGE HISTORICAL SOCIETY. By T. W. Moody, Fellow of Trinity College and Professor of Modern History in the University of Dublin. (Dublin, Hodges, Figgis, 1945, pp. 64.)

BIBLIOGRAPHY OF THE PUBLISHED WRITINGS OF JOHN STUART MILL.

Edited from his Manuscript with corrections and notes by *Ney MacMinn*, Northwestern University, *J. R. Hains*, Northern Illinois State Teachers College, *James McNab McCrimmon*, University of Toledo. [Northwestern University Studies in the Humanities, No. 12.] (Evanston, Northwestern University, 1945, pp. xiv, 101, \$2.50.) Some twenty years ago the British Library of Political Science purchased a considerable collection of the papers of John Stuart Mill. Among this mixed collection was a manuscript notebook containing what is apparently a complete list of Mill's writings of all kinds between 1822 and 1873. This notebook came under the attention of Mr. McCrimmon, then a graduate student in Northwestern University. After some delay permission was obtained from the British Library to edit and publish this list of Mill's writings. The three editors have not only reproduced the list but have given a very brief précis indicating the character of the article or pamphlet. The historian of political thought and of liberalism in the nineteenth century will find the volume very useful.

THE PICTURE GALLERY OF CANADIAN HISTORY. Volume II, 1763-1830.

Illustrations drawn and collected by C. W. Jefferys, assisted by T. W. McLean. (Boston, Bruce Humphries, 1945, pp. xvi, 271, \$2.50.) Dr. Charles W. Jefferys is the unusual combination of artist and sound historian. He is a past president of the Ontario Historical Society and the author of several works presenting in text and drawings the history of Canada. As a young man he was for some years engaged in newspaper illustration work in New York, and in this school he learned the combination of drama and accuracy which characterizes his work. Today he is one of Canada's most distinguished artists. The first volume of *The Picture Gallery of Canadian History* appeared in 1942 and covered the period down to 1763, when Canada was New France. The field included the Indians and their culture, the early explorers, the hunters and fur traders, the missionaries and pioneers. Considerable attention was given to the architecture of old Quebec as preserved in its churches, religious institutions, and houses. In this second volume Dr. Jefferys presents the period 1763-1830, during which there came to Canada the Loyalist migrations from the American colonies and, later, the large immigration from England, Scotland, and Ireland, a sequel of the Napoleonic Wars. These movements of people created two new provinces in Canada and wrought marked social change. There were noticeable differences between the two migrations and noticeable differences even among those who came from the nearby colonies. Dr. Jefferys points out, for example, the difference in costume between the settlers in the Maritime Provinces and those who came to Upper Canada. Maritime refugees brought with them a larger proportion of "cityfied" and formal clothes and the early Nova Scotia judges wore ermine-trimmed robes and full-bottomed wigs. Upper Canada Loyalists, coming mainly from the interior sections of the middle colonies, had much less finery. Their clothes seemed at times to reflect their character, for Mrs. Anna Jameson, when at York in 1837, found the society at the little provincial capital extremely dull. Dr. Jefferys has a third volume in preparation which will deal with the period since 1830. The many hundred drawings and reproductions of prints contained in this trilogy will provide a historical record of

Canadian social development of great value for teachers and students and a treasure house of Canadian history for the general reader. FRED LANDON

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## FRANCE AND BELGIUM

LES GRANDES CRISES DE L'HISTOIRE DE FRANCE. By Robert Lacour-Gayet.

(Montreal, Les Editions Variétés, 1945, pp. 279, \$1.50.) M. Lacour-Gayet has written a very charming book. It contains nothing that is novel, its thoughts are not especially profound, yet it is a book which can be read with advantage and pleasure by every student of French history—pleasure because of its admirable style, advantage because it brings together and illustrates ideas that are always inherent in that history but are sometimes rather obscured by a wealth of fact and detail. M. Lacour-Gayet selects eight periods of crisis in the history of France, examines their causes and characteristics, and seeks to explain what brought France back to security and unity. To the author a crisis is not necessarily a period of defeat or disaster but one when "something is broken," "when the present is suddenly disjoined from the past," when indecision, fear, and a sense of bewilderment mark the people's minds (p. 11). His answer as to what has saved France on each occasion is clear: In the Middle Ages and in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries "religion and royalty were the two columns that upheld the state" (p. 126); they gradually developed into nationalism and union; but in the nineteenth century salvation lay in a strong sense of unity combined with a desire to preserve the continuity of legal power, more and more based on the people. Naturally this thesis could not be developed without the problems of France today lurking somewhere in the back of the author's mind, but he has on the whole avoided with considerable historical skill reading the past in the light of the present. He writes of the Restoration of 1815, "Denunciations became common—a hideous scourge of tormented ages. Were their authors all vile? Not necessarily, but wishing to play at judging, they forgot justice" (p. 220). But there is no hint that his words might well apply to France at the present moment. Possibly chapter 1 views France in a little too favorable a light, possibly France's acquiring a national feeling is somewhat antedated (p. 32), and its greatness in the fifteenth century exaggerated (p. 112), but these are such minor defects that they do not detract at all from a stimulating and readable book.

E. R. ADAIR

IMMORTAL VILLAGE. By Donald Culross Peattie. (Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1945, pp. 224, \$3.00.) "The accretion of tradition in a Provençal village



(Vence); the quality of its inhabitants from Cro-Magnon, Carolingian, and Reformer through the eras of revolution, republic, and empire to 1830. This is an expansion of *Vence* published in a limited edition in Paris, 1926."

IDEES ET PROFILS DU XVIII<sup>e</sup> SIECLE. By *Suzanne Tassier*, Agrégé à l'Université de Bruxelles. [Collection Nationale, 5<sup>me</sup> Série, No. 52.] (Brussels, J. Lebègue, 1944, pp. 77.) These seven short sketches dealing with eighteenth century Belgium are of particular interest because they show how the contemporary Belgian Revolution differed from the more widely known French Revolution. The student of the latter rubs his eyes to see a relationship of forces quite unexpected. To a Belgium sunk in complacent lethargy the Enlightenment came as a series of enactments ordered by the alien if benevolent despot Joseph II. Coming as they did from an unpopular outsider, physiocratic reforms which in France were demanded by the Revolution were in Belgium a part of what the Revolution was directed against. Thus one of the complaints against the emperor was his enforcement of freedom of the press in spite of the wishes of the local estates. True, the Vonckists, who started the uprising against Austria in 1789, were liberally inclined, but the revolutionary movement was soon in the hands of the Statists who were able to persuade the people that the rights of the country meant the privileges of the clergy, nobles, and guilds. The Austrians, on their return in 1790, regarded the conservative Statists as their great enemies, and the governor, Maria Christina, was of a liberal point of view. When the French finally came in 1792, their paraphernalia of popular clubs, representatives of the people, etc., frightened the moderates, and the cause both of liberalism and national unity in Belgium was put back. We may thank Mme. Tassier for showing us so clearly that the "*Révolution de Brabant*" was by no means the same thing as the "*Révolution de France*," even though Camille Desmoulins saw fit to combine the two in the title of his journal.

WILLIS D. NUTTING

ESQUISSE D'UNE HISTOIRE ECONOMIQUE DE LA BELGIQUE. By *J. A. Van Houtte*, Professeur à l'Université de Louvain. (Louvain, Editions Universitas, 1943, pp. 260, 20 belgas.) In tracing the general economic development of Western civilization, economic historians in America have consistently been guided by the example of England. The "breakdown of manorial agriculture," the "early industrial revolution," the "agricultural revolution," "the industrial revolution," and the concept of western Europe as the "Workshop of the World" are clichés which have come from English history. A study of the economic history of the territory which is now Belgium would do much to rectify a not entirely justified "provincialism" on our part. The brief book before me makes clear that England was not always in the forefront and certainly not alone in the van of modern economic evolution. This sketch of Belgian economic history grew out of a course at the University of Louvain, for Professor Van Houtte believed scholars needed a treatise less pretentious than Henri Pirenne's general history of Belgium, but less concise than that of Father Floris Prims. The result is a brief work, with all the faults of bookmaking inherent in war-time publishing, which describes in schematic and orderly fashion agriculture, industry, and distribution, first for the period 1000-1800 and then for the years 1800-1914. The story was not continued further because of "lack of perspective" and the "overwhelming mass of data." The book's greatest weakness is its lack of analysis and synthesis. Its strength lies in the fact that it makes readily available information which supplements our ordinary treatment of European economic history.

SHEPARD B. CLOUGH

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GERMANY, SWITZERLAND, AND AUSTRIA

*Ernst Posner*

FREDERICK THE GREAT: INSTRUCTIONS FOR HIS GENERALS. Translated by Brigadier General *Thomas R. Phillips*. [A Military Classic.] (Harrisburg, Military Service, 1944, pp. 104, \$1.00.) The introduction gives a conventional account of Frederick's nonmilitary activities, relates his direct and indirect "aid" to the American War of Independence, and disposes of the legend of Frederick II's sending a sword to Washington with the purported inscription: "*Der älteste General dem besten*," but furnishes the source of this legend. The "Instructions" deal primarily with deserters, the characteristics of a general, the use of spies and partisans, and the attainment of surprise. Frederick's own tactics can be examined with some degree of satisfaction in sections xvi-xix. A few apothegms reflect Frederick's personality. The following analogy will reflect his literary inclinations: "To make your dispositions without knowing how a city is constructed within and without, is to order a tailor to make a suit without his knowing if the man for whom he makes it is tall or short, fat or thin" (p. 71). Historians who equate Prussian and German militarism may utilize Frederick's judgments regarding the Prussian army; to wit, the Prussian army's excellence lies in its "regularity of formation . . . in exact obedience and in the bravery of the troops" (p. 22). Also, "the power of the Prussians is in the attack" (p. 50). This translation makes available to the reading public an important segment of an important man's work, but the reviewer is perplexed as to why a new edition was deemed timely. Was it to expose to our contemporary military leaders how the successors to Frederick II have applied his aggressive principles? What could a contemporary general learn of German strategy when the "Instructions" are focused on the Saxons, the Austrians, and (only incidentally) the Russians as the only enemies conceivable to Frederick? If the work was deemed important enough for a general to devote his time to reading it in the momentous year 1944, surely the exigencies of war should not excuse such poor proofreading as to spell the word "siege" correctly twice and twelve times incorrectly. Wittenberg (p. 25), Magdeburg (p. 32) are misspelled; Schweidnitz is misspelled on a map (p. 26). Besides misspellings of other ordinary words (pp. 33, 99), we find Glatz is spelled correctly and incorrectly on the same page (p. 27), as is Kalckstein (p. 96).

LOUIS KESTENBERG

THE JUNKER MENACE. By *Frederick Martin*. (New York, Richard R. Smith, 1945, pp. 155, \$2.00.) This flimsy and violently prejudiced concoction, written for popular

consumption, has nothing whatsoever to offer to the trained historian and political scientist. The author, a complacent, overzealous, although well-meaning German exile, finds pleasure in playing the tasteless and unconvincing role of what purports to be an American superpatriot. The thesis he sets forth has the character of an obsession. Here it is: Throughout the history of Western civilization Germany's "peculiar case" has been "a very serious case of mental aberration." "Germany's crimes against the world are the result of a peculiar mental and moral attitude, brought about by the Prussian Junkers." The Junkers are all alike and, in almost all respects, they have remained the same. These "feudal overlords" have "consciously poisoned and perverted the entire people." "The world has not yet recognized that feudalism is the true source of its peril." "Feudalism is a principle of conduct and a caste society whether exemplified by the Hohenzollern and Junkers, by Hitler and his accomplices, or by groups which may appear capitalistic, socialistic or democratic." "It is feudalism whenever a small minority exercises control by force and terror." These quotations will suffice. To go any further would be an affront to this *Review* and its readers.

HANS ROSENBERG

GERMANY BETWEEN TWO WARS: A STUDY OF PROPAGANDA AND WAR GUILT. By *Lindley Fraser*. (New York, Oxford University Press, 1945, pp. 192, \$2.50.)

BIOGRAPHICAL SOURCES FOR FOREIGN COUNTRIES. Number 2, GERMANY AND AUSTRIA. Compiled by *Nelson R. Burr*. (Washington, Library of Congress, 1945, pp. 215.)

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## ITALY

*Gaudens Megaro*

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## RUSSIA AND POLAND

*Avrahm Yarmolinsky*

- RUSSO-POLISH RELATIONS: AN HISTORICAL SURVEY. Edited by S. Kononov, Professor of Russian in the University of Birmingham, Lecturer in Slavonic Studies, University of Oxford. (Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1945, pp. viii, 102,

\$1.50.) The introductory note contains an acknowledgment that both the late Sir John Maynard, who started the work at the invitation of the Anglo-Soviet Public Relations Association, and Professor Konovalov, who completed it, cited or borrowed some material from Professor B. H. Sumner's *Short History of Russia* (New York, 1943). But not even the title of that book is correctly cited, while, as a matter of fact, fifteen out of thirty-six "sections" of the survey—almost the whole historical part up to 1917—are literally reprinted (without quotation marks) from pages 187–211 of Sumner's volume. Even in that rather "conventional" outline of Russian history (see Professor R. J. Kerner's review in the present journal, July, 1945, p. 801) there are passages condemning the "destruction of Poland" and clearly showing Russia's responsibility (pp. 200, 203, 206); they have been omitted by Professor Konovalov, and so has the brief, but excellent paragraph (p. 187) where Professor Sumner, after having emphasized the importance of the Russo-Polish conflict (a statement textually used as first section of the new book), enumerates the various "causes of division." For Professor Konovalov wanted to convince his readers that all these problems are "of a more or less secondary and transient nature" (p. 51), except the territorial issue. In his only original addition to the presentation of the historical background (section 24) he stresses that in this matter "important sections of Polish opinion" shared the Russian point of view. But one or two articles published in the autumn of 1914, under the war censorship of the tsarist regime, are no convincing proofs. Original additions are also the seven appendixes, two of which refer to the period before 1919. The first deals with "Polish Intervention in Russia," the only one which occurred in the Time of Troubles at the beginning of the seventeenth century. The title of the second appendix, "Russian Intervention in Poland," would be quite appropriate for a discussion of the Russian revenge in the middle of the same century or of the policy of Peter the Great, but must be considered—to say the least—a strange understatement, since it means the total partition of Poland in the eighteenth century. In both cases, the editor, having briefly cited Polish (or pro-Polish) and Russian authors, concludes by quoting a British "source," which is, however, nothing but a violently anti-Polish political essay of the Marquess of Salisbury, published in the critical year of 1863 with the obvious aim of opposing the idea of British intervention in favor of Poland. The political part of Professor Konovalov's publication, where he gives, both in the text and in the appendixes, limited material concerning the years 1919–1944, arranged with a view to justifying the Russian interpretation of these highly controversial events, is hardly a subject for discussion in a historical journal.

OSCAR HALECKI

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## Far Eastern History

E. H. Pritchard

**CHINA TAKES HER PLACE.** By *Carl Crow*. (New York, Harper and Brothers, 1944, pp. xxi, 282, \$2.75.) This little book by the late Carl Crow, written in 1944 when the war in the Far East seemed far from over and when public criticism of the Nationalist government was growing in the United States, gives a sympathetic interpretation of the development of modern China under Kuomintang leadership. In successive chapters it sketches the main developments and the salient features of the Nationalist program for China from the revolution of 1911 until the present. It concentrates on the difficulties encountered and the progress made rather than the darker aspects of the picture. In contrast to the general criticism of corruption and dishonesty in the National government Mr. Crow emphasizes the promotion of honesty in public officials by the New Life Movement: against the general picture of indifference and incompetence among public officials he proclaims the enthusiasm and ability of the young engineers; against the general picture of economic stagnation he emphasizes the great accomplishments and potentialities of the industrial co-operatives; and in contrast to general charges of dictatorship and repression he emphasizes the Kuomintang commitment to the establishment of constitutional government. Considerable progress has been made in China since 1911 despite the manifold difficulties faced, and it is well to have such facts brought out today, but an almost complete disregard for unpleasant details about Nationalist China will benefit no one. Mr. Crow seems to be writing more about the enthusiastic young Nationalists who had just come to power in the late 1920's rather than the entrenched, landlord-ridden party of today. Surprisingly, even in his treatment of the Communists, the author maintains his sweetness and light attitude, but a frank analysis of the fundamental issues dividing Communist and Nationalist would be of more value to the American public today.

**A CHINESE VILLAGE, TAITOU, SHANTUNG PROVINCE.** By *Martin C. Yang*. (New York, Columbia University Press, 1945, pp. 292, \$3.00.) "A native of an agricultural village shows forth in detail the family life, field work and social patterns of his home community."

**THE JAPANESE NATION: A SOCIAL SURVEY.** By *John F. Embree*. (New York, Farrar and Rinehart, 1945, pp. xi, 308, \$3.00.) American wartime writing about Japan has been strongly colored by ethical and emotional attitudes, and a large proportion of most books and articles has been devoted to expounding causes and cures for Japanese militarism. Embree's study of Japanese society provides a welcome contrast to these thousands of pages of righteous, if somewhat repetitive, indignation. Aware of



the need for a survey of Japanese culture which is descriptive rather than polemic, he has applied the methods of social anthropology to a highly developed modern nation. His intimate knowledge of the country and its people, including a year's observation of the village described in his "Suye Mura," is reflected in complete and accurate studies of government, politics, the class system, education, the family, religion, culture patterns, and national attitudes. Some critics will find Embree's picture of Japan somewhat static and lacking in treatment of social and economic conflict. But it would scarcely have been possible for him to devote much of his limited space to minority attitudes and still achieve completeness. For this reason Embree has not emphasized those groups and individuals, always small in numbers and influence, who have courageously attempted to swim against the current of nationalism and imperialism. Because of the extraordinary degree of unity which Japan attained during the past half century, his generalizations have an authenticity which might well be lacking in a similar brief study of any of the large western European nations or of the United States. From his survey emerges a picture of a culture inherently stable, with strong resources in the hardihood, ability, and industry of the population. Japan has experienced fundamental changes in her system of government and her economy in the past. The national structure will probably undergo equally drastic alterations as a result of defeat and the loss of overseas possessions and trade. Among these developments, Mr. Embree suggests, may be the socialization of Japan's financial and economic structure, already well advanced toward nationalization and away from small-scale competing enterprises. He is not deeply impressed by the importance of the throne. The whole system of state Shinto "could be dismantled tomorrow without seriously disrupting Japanese society." The militarists, Embree maintains, may have used the emperor as a rallying point; but they could not have won the backing which they received from the nation as a whole if internal economic developments and international pressures and rivalries had not played into their hands. "In the future," he concludes, "Japan may be isolationist, nationalist or internationalist depending on circumstances, whether or not there is an Emperor on the throne. . . . Whatever happens, it is safe to predict that future social developments in Japan will be in accord with Japanese history and culture—the form of Japan tomorrow can best be understood and predicted by its shape of yesterday." The usefulness of the volume is increased by the appendixes, which include the complete text of the Constitution of 1889, weights and measures, Japanese year dates, an extensive glossary, and a bibliography subdivided by subjects.

RICHARD HART

THE STORY OF THE DUTCH EAST INDIES. By *Bernard H. M. Vlekke*, Professor of History and Secretary-General to the Netherlands Government Historical Institute in Rome. (Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1945, pp. xvii, 233, \$3.00.) In this "popular history" written "for the general reading public and especially the members of the armed forces" the author has described vividly, often brilliantly, the early civilization in these islands and laid bare the ruthlessness with which from the fifteenth into the twentieth century the Portuguese, Spanish, Dutch, and British exploited the people and the resources. But the story of the archipelago since 1900, much of which redounds to the credit of the rulers, is told much less effectively; the account of the development of nationalism and the response of Dutch authorities to it is confused and lacking in the interpretation which is due American readers nearly four years after the proclamation of the Atlantic Charter. The writer, who reconstructs so effectively the stirring days of early Javanese kings, fails to reveal the drama and the terrible significance of seventy million people awakening to a new sense of responsibility for their own future and to a desire, however bewildered, to fit themselves

into a world community. Abridging this complicated history has resulted in some misleading statements, for example, that Britain exchanged "the Malay Peninsula" for Benkulen in 1824 (p. 150), that Indonesia is "in reality a very poor country" (pp. 163-64, 193), that from 1901 the Dutch have carried into execution the policy "of shaping governmental measures in the interest of the peoples themselves and not of those in control" (p. 170). Haste in publication probably accounts for errors in spelling, also for the fact that spelling of place names on the end paper maps occasionally differs from that used in the text. The format is attractive, the illustrations well chosen and beautifully done, and the index, a feature often omitted from popular books, detailed and usable.

EDITH DOBIE

THE PEOPLES OF MALAYSIA. By *Fay-Cooper Cole*, Chairman, Department of Anthropology, University of Chicago; Research Associate in Malayan Ethnology, Chicago Natural History Museum. (New York, D. Van Nostrand, 1945, pp. xiv, 354, \$4.00.) The historian dealing with Southeast Asia may count this book an essential source for background on its peoples. The author, distinguished anthropologist of the University of Chicago, brings together in compact form materials from four decades of research and teaching on the Malaysian area. The first fifty pages give general information on the "prehistory" and history of the region, including the impact of Indian and Chinese civilizations, and the development of modern colonialism. Following this come surveys of the Malay Peninsula, the Philippines, and the western islands of the Netherlands Indies, especially Borneo, Java, and Sumatra. The author does not attempt to cover all the peoples concerned but rather chooses "type" groups for description. Nearly all these groups have been studied at first hand by him during his five and a half years of living in the area on his various field trips. With his own materials are woven data from a wide range of ethnological and other publications not always easily accessible, including Dutch language sources. The chapter on Java gives a rounded description of Javanese society and custom nowhere else available in English, and a long chapter on the Pygmies assembles the known information on these interesting groups. Inevitably the emphasis is upon the colorful but less numerous mountain and forest peoples of special interest to the anthropologist. A final chapter deals with the future of the Malayan peoples, and points out that "as the Allies return it is to a different Malaysia," in which attempts to re-establish the old colonial domination will meet with opposition. "If in the post-war settlement adequate assurances are given that the native peoples will be afforded every opportunity to progress in education and self-government; if they are assured that, like the Filipinos, they will become independent or free members of a larger commonwealth, the formula for a lasting peace probably can be found."

FELIX M. KEESING

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## United States History

E. C. Burnett

### GENERAL

NAMES ON THE LAND: A HISTORICAL ACCOUNT OF PLACE-NAMING IN THE UNITED STATES. By George R. Stewart. (New York, Random House, 1945, pp. ix, 418, \$3.00.) This is a book of rather ambitious scope but it is also a book of remarkably satisfying achievement. It is not a dictionary of place names but a history of the name-giving process in the United States. The names of the forty-eight states, of all cities having over 100,000 people, of the great rivers, lakes, mountains, capes, and other notable natural landmarks are included, together with an extremely varied and interesting selection, for illustrative purposes, from among the lesser place names.

Equipped with this skillful and sensible plan and his versatile pen, the author unfolds quite naturally for the reader the story of the bestowal of names upon the land. The reader will learn that William Penn liked the sound of Indian names, that more great names arose from the Jolliet-Marquette exploration than from any other, that Chesapeake and Mississippi are blood brothers, and that Wisconsin and Oregon are at least sisters under the skin, that a "brook" in New England is a "branch" in Virginia, that a "cove" in the Appalachians became a "hole" in the Rockies, that most cities have followed the Philadelphia plan in naming their streets, that nothing is easier or harder to change than a name, depending on the circumstances, and a host of other equally useful and curious things. Much sound scholarship hides behind a delightfully entertaining style, as when New York is traced back to its Celtic origins, with some diverting anecdotes thrown in on the side. In a postscript the author indicates a continuing interest in place names and invites correspondence. Attention ought, therefore, to be directed to a few errors requiring correction. Prince Henry, for whom Cape Henry was named (p. 30), was not the "Baby Stuart" of Van Dyck's painting. The union of England and Scotland was in 1707, not in 1709 (p. 296). The United States acquired Florida (under treaty of 1819) in July, 1821, not in 1822 (p. 229). Fort Wayne was not built near the battlefield of Fallen Timbers (p. 199) but about ninety miles southwest of it, in what turned out to be Indiana rather than Ohio. The number of counties bearing the name of Washington is incorrectly given as thirty-three (p. 164) and later correctly stated as thirty-two (p. 358). The term "barrens" was not replaced by "prairies" in Kentucky (p. 152) but is still used to designate land between the Rolling Fork of Salt River and Green River, and between the Green and the Cumberland. A reference to *the* Panhandle (p. 385) ignores the fact that at least eight states have areas so called. *Names on the Land* is a book that has long been needed by teachers of history and it is indeed fortunate that the need has been supplied by so vivid and precise a writer as Professor Stewart. It is a book to be kept within handy reach.

HARVEY L. CARTER

EARLY SCOTCH CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE UNITED STATES: BEING A LECTURE DELIVERED WITHIN THE UNIVERSITY OF GLASGOW ON 8TH MARCH, 1945. By *T. J. Wertenbaker*, Edwards Professor of American History in Princeton University, Harmsworth Professor of American History in the University of Oxford. [Glasgow University Publications, LXIV.] (Glasgow, Jackson, 1945, pp. 24, 2s.)

SON OF THUNDER: PATRICK HENRY. By *Julia M. H. Carson*. (New York, Longmans, Green, 1945, pp. ix, 244, \$2.50.) "Patrick Henry, aged nine, lay on the small of his back, his legs crossed, one bare foot pointed straight to the top of a towering pine tree." Thus begins Mrs. Carson's easy-flowing life of Patrick Henry. The conscientious historian immediately notes facts that hardly permit of documentation, with proper footnote references. Obviously Mrs. Carson has been more concerned with the spirit than with meticulous detail. The result is a delightful narrative which should bring pleasure and profit to many a high-school youngster, and very possibly also to his father and mother. The author has read widely and discriminatingly to obtain the proper facts, as her bibliography indicates. While she has leaned heavily on Moses Coit Tyler—which she acknowledges—she has also read much else, including a fair amount of contemporary material. Now and then she slips in her facts or else suggests an error—as the implication that Virginia was the ninth state to ratify the Constitution. But such slips are few and by no means destroy the utility and real charm of the book. We could use many other volumes of this type.

ROBERT E. RIEGEL

SELECTED DOCUMENTS DEALING WITH THE ORGANIZATION OF THE FIRST CONGREGATIONS AND THE FIRST CONFERENCES OF THE AUGUSTANA SYNOD AND THEIR GROWTH UNTIL 1860. Volume I. Edited by I. O. Nothstein. [Augustana Historical Society Publications, Volume X.] (Rock Island, Ill., the Society, 1944, pp. 195.)

A LONG PULL FROM STAVANGER: THE REMINISCENCES OF A NORWEGIAN IMMIGRANT. By *Birger Osland*. (Northfield, Minn., Norwegian-American Historical Association, 1945, pp. viii, 263, \$2.50.) This is a book of reminiscences by a Norwegian immigrant who as a youth took "the long pull from Stavanger" for America in 1888. Settling in Chicago and taking advantage of the opportunities which presented themselves in that rapidly growing city, he rose in time to become a prominent banker. The book, however, is not an autobiography in the generally accepted meaning of the word. The author does not subject himself to a rigorous self-examination nor does he give an integrated account of his life. Mr. Osland played a conspicuous part in Norwegian-American cultural, philanthropic, and business affairs, and it is especially these activities which are dealt with. This lends considerable value to the book since writers of Norwegian-American history have heretofore concerned themselves largely with the life and institutions of the big agricultural settlements in the Middle West. As a young man the author helped organize literary and musical clubs which served the double purpose of keeping the immigrants in touch with the culture of their homeland and of introducing them to developments in America. Later the many social problems of a big city engaged his energies and he took an active part in founding and directing various humanitarian institutions among his countrymen in Chicago. In 1925 he helped organize the Norwegian-American Historical Association and has served it ably as secretary for many years. Mr. Osland was undoubtedly the most influential man in obtaining American backing for the Norwegian-American Steamship Line chartered shortly before the first World War. His chapters dealing with this enterprise are especially full and well documented, with much material hitherto unpublished. The readers who have no particular interest in immigrant history will undoubtedly find the section dealing with the author's experience as American military attaché in Norway during World War I the most enjoyable. It presents an interesting picture of life in Oslo during the war years and gives a spirited account of the plots and counterplots hatched by the representatives of the warring countries in a neutral capital.

CLARENCE A. CLAUSEN

THE HALL CARBINE AFFAIR: A STUDY IN CONTEMPORARY FOLKLORE. By *R. Gordon Wasson*. (New York, privately printed, 1941.) In this little book, written for the members and friends of J. P. Morgan and Company and printed privately in a very limited edition because Mr. Morgan disliked anything which might be labeled publicity, Mr. Wasson, a vice president of the company, inquires into the truth of the story, first told by Gustavus Myers in his *History of the Great American Fortunes*, that the elder Morgan got his start in life by buying obsolete and worthless arms from one branch of the federal government in 1861 and reselling them to another at an exorbitant profit. The story has been so often repeated by a succession of popular writers, though never by a reputable historian, that it is believed today by a large number of Americans as an authentic and significant incident in the history of American business. It has been told on the floor of the Senate, it has crept into the pages of the *Dictionary of American Biography*, it has become a favorite tale for radical journalists, and it is not unknown in college classrooms. Mr. Wasson presents the correct facts with the skill and finality of a first-rate scholar and shows how Myers



twisted and falsified them, and how his copiers seized and even improved upon Myers' version without attempting the slightest verification. The facts are available, in complete detail, in the printed documents of the thirty-seventh Congress. They are no more involved than in any political and financial transaction which the historian is often called upon to disentangle and understand. In June, 1861, with the approval of the Secretary of War, the head of the Ordnance Bureau, Colonel Ripley, not foreseeing the expansion of the Union army and confident that he could get weapons of improved pattern to meet his needs, sold five thousand serviceable smoothbore Hall's carbines, in new condition, to one Arthur Eastman of New Hampshire for \$3.50 apiece. Having no funds to pay the bill, Eastman arranged in early August to borrow \$20,000 from Simon Stevens, a brother of the later bibliographers and London booksellers, Henry and B. F. Stevens. The sum would be the initial payment in a sale of the carbines to Stevens for \$12.50 each. Stevens, without money either, offered them, as if newly rifled and chambered for standard ammunition, at \$22 apiece to his friend General Fremont, who, in command at Cairo and badly in need of weapons of any kind, accepted them for immediate delivery. Stevens did not know that the guns were still in the arsenal at Governor's Island, and there is no evidence that he told J. P. Morgan, from whom, with the arms as collateral, he borrowed \$20,000, that he had already sold them to Fremont. A month later Fremont had received and paid for part of the arms, which had been rifled as promised, and Morgan, having got back his loan, with interest at seven per cent and a commission of \$5,000, was through with his part in the affair. He was not involved in the subsequent congressional investigation nor in Stevens' later successful suit in the court of claims, with the support of a financial backer, Morris Ketchum, for the remainder of the purchase price. However much this incident reflects upon Ripley's judgment and Stevens' patriotism, it is neither to Morgan's credit or discredit. He played a minor role, not a principal one, and he got out of the affair as soon as he learned the facts in the game Stevens was playing. The weapons which were in his charge for a short time, far from blowing off the thumbs of soldiers who used them, as Myers alleged, gave good service and, in the state of the small-arms market in August, 1861, were easily worth what Fremont paid for them. As Mr. Wasson points out, this incident is of no importance in itself. No war in history but has produced its profiteers. He would never have thought it necessary to write his book, nor would this review have been as long as it is, merely to tell how Eastman made \$9 apiece, and Morgan \$1, and Stevens and Ketchum \$8.50, out of 5,000 carbines in the confusion of 1861. If history, to be living, does work in the world, as historians believe, and if history is what men remember, then bad history does work as well as good, and in the long run the work must be evil. The value of this book is its implied plea to those historians who might be careless when they deal with the red-hot issues of the present to examine their facts and their prejudices.

STANLEY PARGELLIS

AMERICAN POLITICAL AND SOCIAL HISTORY. By *Harold Underwood Faulkner*, Smith College. [Crofts American History Series, Dixon Ryan Fox, General Editor.] (New York, F. S. Crofts, 1945, pp. xx, 838, \$4.00.) A fourth edition, revised and brought up to date. For review of earlier edition see *American Historical Review*, XLIII (January, 1938), 401.

AMERICAN BOTANY, 1873-1892: DECADES OF TRANSITION. By *Andrew Denny Rodgers III*. (Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1944, pp. 340, \$3.75.) Among the important but all too little known contributors to the development of America are the botanists. They have added not only to scientific knowledge but



also to the practical knowledge of a new, young, and vigorously growing world state. Historians should therefore be grateful to Andrew Denny Rodgers III for his monumental studies in the history of American botany. In 1940 Mr. Rodgers gave us the biography of his grandfather, William Sullivant, an enthusiastic student of mosses. This book was followed by studies of John Torrey, foremost pre-Darwin botanist of America, and John Merle Coulter, a contemporary of ours who died in 1928. In this, his latest work, the author devotes himself to what he terms the "transitional years," 1873-1892. These years slightly more than cover the last years of the life of Asa Gray (d. 1888), who was Torrey's most gifted student. Thus this account bridges the gap between Torrey and Coulter. The "decades of transition" mark the period during which American botany developed from primary emphasis on description and taxonomy to an experimental science with all that this implies. In this transition Asa Gray, professor of botany at Harvard and America's greatest botanical scholar, played a leading role. However, despite the fact that Gray appears as a major character, this book is not a biography of his later years from 1873, the time of his retirement from teaching, until his death in 1888. Gray retired from teaching but he did not at the same time retire from botanical activity. He carried on as director of the herbarium at Harvard and was in correspondence with practically every important botanist in the country. By the clever device of using Gray's correspondence as a unifying thread, Mr. Rodgers has succeeded in stringing together a mass of information concerning the momentous botanical developments of the time. Thus he has admirably carried out the purpose, as given in his preface, of "an analytic and synthetic interpretation of events." The period was one of ferment; government expeditions went into the field to explore the land and collect new plants, and private and university collectors were active as well. Handbooks and compendiums were being written, classifications amended and expanded as new knowledge was acquired, the influence of Darwinian thought was becoming, with Gray's help, a significant force, and last but not least laboratories were being established for the study of such new subjects as plant physiology, microbiology, and microscopic plant anatomy. Of all these developments and more, Rodgers tells us. It is only fair to warn that because of its very wealth of material the book is not easy reading. But to the historian who wishes to be informed on the whole development of American history and who recognizes that the history of science is an important part of the story, the study of Rodgers' *American Botany* will prove rewarding.

MORRIS C. LEIKIND

WILLIAM HOWARD TAFT, YALE PROFESSOR OF LAW AND NEW HAVEN CITIZEN: AN ACADEMIC INTERLUDE IN THE LIFE OF THE TWENTY-SEVENTH PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES AND THE TENTH CHIEF JUSTICE OF THE SUPREME COURT. By *Frederick C. Hicks*. [Yale Law Library Publications, Number 10.] (New Haven, Yale University Press, 1945, pp. xiv, 158, \$2.50.) Mr. Taft's biographers may pass lightly over his experiences as a member of the faculty of Yale and a citizen of New Haven, but to Yale and New Haven they seemed singularly important. On his arrival he was escorted to the campus in a parade "second to no triumphal procession of any Caesar" (p. 16). When he finally departed, an editorial in a leading daily noted the wonder that residents of New Haven should have had the privilege of "living in the same town with one so unprecedentedly distinctive," and predicted that "in the old age of children now in school, eager listeners will press their questions: 'How did he look?' 'What did he say?'" (p. xiv). The parade, the editorial, and this book are strictly New Haven products. As a citizen of New Haven, Taft did graciously the expected things. He favored every project for civic betterment, participated in drives for the Red Cross and sales of Liberty Bonds,

made addresses to foreign born residents, to boys' clubs and other organizations, and took part in local Republican party activities. As a member of the university community he did his share in its official and social life. He gave his support and encouragement to every proposal for improvement in academic methods and standards. He was generous of his time in attending the usual undergraduate festivities and games. Wherever he went, he was his own inimitable self with his inimitable chuckle. As he was entering upon his academic duties, the *New Haven Journal-Courier* said, "Mr. Taft can do more to solve the sharp problems of undergraduate life by the sheer force of his personality and his love of high ideals than any other man connected with the teaching force." Certainly all students in his classes appreciated the advantages of meeting and knowing the lovable ex-President. But as a pedagogue he was anything but a success. Save when he departed from formal instruction, his performance was "surprisingly dull" (p. 38). In his undergraduate courses, the students shirked and cribbed. In his law school classes the men did their work with their usual diligence. Mr. Taft's position at Yale required only a portion of his time. He traveled widely, lecturing on legal and political subjects. His office was not on the campus but in the Taft Hotel. In truth during his residence in New Haven he was essentially the ex-President and potential Chief Justice of the United States. E. M. MORGAN

GENERALS IN THE WHITE HOUSE. By *Dorothy Burne Goebel* and *Julius Goebel, Jr.* (Garden City, N. Y., Doubleday, Doran, 1945, pp. 276, \$2.75.) This book, as the title indicates, is devoted to the careers of the men who became President of the United States after having attained military rank from that of brigadier general to that of general of the army. Before taking up these careers the authors present, first, a brief chapter on the American paradox involved in the general antipathy toward military leaders, which has not prevented the choice of military men for the office of chief executive. This is followed by a discussion of the long-standing fear of militarism and prejudice against a regular army; and a chapter entitled "What Makes a General?" A chapter each is given to Washington, Jackson, William Henry Harrison, Taylor, Pierce, and Grant; while Hayes, Garfield, and Benjamin Harrison are grouped together in one chapter. It is to be noted that only two of these men could be called professional soldiers. In each case the man's military service is described, sometimes with details that seem irrelevant, and then his administration as President is outlined and evaluated. Seldom is it clear whether the authors believe that previous military service materially affected the attitudes and policies of the soldier-Presidents while in the office of chief executive. In a brief concluding chapter they express the opinion that the voters chose these men not so much because of the fact they had been soldiers, as because their previous service to their country seemed to give "promise of ideals beyond mere party." Of course this does not explain why men like Scott or Hancock were not elected. The authors also call attention to the fact that the soldier-Presidents have been fully as conservative as those with only civilian experience in their attitudes toward a standing army and its use in domestic and foreign affairs. The book gives evidence of rather wide reading of military history, but there are no citations of sources and no bibliography. The style makes for easy reading. The reader interested in the general theme of the book will not find it disappointing unless he expects to be shown that military men do or do not make good Presidents. DAN E. CLARK

UNITED STATES NAVAL ACADEMY: THE FIRST HUNDRED YEARS. By *John Crane* and *James F. Kieley*. Foreword by the President of the United States. (New York, Whittlesey House, 1945, pp. xi, 53, photographs, \$5.00.) The core of

this book is the illustrations, some in color. The brief text by two journalists is a simple account of the origins and history of the Naval Academy and within its limits informing and free from ballyhoo. It can be commended to the general public, to young readers, and to those who have had relatives in the academy.

**TWENTIETH CENTURY AMERICA.** By *Foster Rhea Dulles*, Ohio State University. (Boston, Houghton Mifflin, 1945, pp. x, 582, xxvii, \$3.75.) This breezy text, punctuated with pungent quotations, catch phrases, popular jingles, refrains from popular songs, extracts from advertisements, and touches of irony, is indicative of what is happening to American college education. The author wastes no time before plunging into the mad stream of the twentieth century. Three brief chapters summarize salient developments and events prior to 1900: social and economic conditions, the trust problem, the Spanish-American War and its results, the elections of 1896 and 1900, and the like. The story then continues on to the death of Franklin D. Roosevelt. The author is successful in evaluating personalities; but the sectional aspects of legislation and foreign policy are slighted; at least, they deserve more emphasis. The author does not pull his punches and does not attempt to ride two or more horses; he is on the side of liberalism and does not conceal his admiration for the New Deal and its author, to whose administration he allots more than two hundred pages. Four chapters on "American Life" are interlarded at the end of as many sections and serve as vaudeville acts to give the undergraduate relaxation; but they are too brief and sketchy to be dignified by that inclusive caption. The youth of the land may be interested in knowing the brands or makes of underwear, collars, soap, fountain pens, automobiles, and cigarettes that were advertised during the years Theodore Roosevelt, Woodrow Wilson, and Franklin Roosevelt drew the wrath of big business; but the names of movie stars, boxers, and baseball players that are embalmed in the pages of the book are as deservedly dead and unimportant as last year's all-American fullback or yesterday's headline. The undergraduate will find the book entertaining and instructive; and if his instructor wants this kind of thing, this is just the kind of thing he wants.

GEORGE M. STEPHENSON

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## NEW ENGLAND AND MIDDLE COLONIES AND STATES

PLURAL OFFICE-HOLDING IN MASSACHUSETTS, 1760-1780: ITS RELATION TO THE "SEPARATION" OF DEPARTMENTS OF GOVERNMENT. By *Ellen E. Brennan*. (Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina Press, 1945, pp. xiii, 227, \$3.00.) For several years past suggestions have been advanced from diverse sources concerning the desirability of reducing or of bridging the gaps between the various departments of government. "Separation of powers" which really should more often be rendered "separation of departments" has time and again been designated as one of the cardinal features of the American political system, and it is usually stressed in contrast to its supposed absence in Great Britain. Separation of departments must of course be considered in connection with plural office-holding. This practice, so rife in colonial days, does not exist formally in the United States today, and Miss Brennan here surveys a limited aspect of its eradication. Drawing her materials largely from the controversial literature of the Revolutionary era, she reveals the connection between this grievance and the broader aspects of colonial hostility to British policy. She also makes clear why the Act of Settlement, with its provisions against placemen in the Commons, so often figured in colonial arguments. In 1760 Massachusetts was governed in large measure by a family compact whose members monopolized many profitable and quite diverse offices. Obviously it was not a *theory* of politics but a specific *condition* of government that aroused colonial agitators. The campaign against this particular expression of oligarchy was well summed up in 1761 by Oxenbridge Thacher: "No meer man since the fall, ever excelled in both" judicial and political office. On the other side, writers argued that plural office-holding was not of itself a threat to liberty and had often functioned satisfactorily. As the popular party scored victories in the assembly, plural office-holding declined and the separation of departments became a working reality. Paradoxically, however, after the patriots took over the government in 1775, plural office-holding abounded. Many towns protested strongly against this evil, and when the convention for the constitution of 1780 was assembling, they instructed their delegates to oppose its various manifestations. The constitution of 1780 consequently did establish separation, the only question at the time being how far it should be carried.

CHARLES F. MULLETT

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SOUTHERN COLONIES AND STATES

IRON WORKS AT TUBALL: TERMS AND CONDITIONS FOR THEIR LEASE AS STATED BY ALEXANDER SPOTSWOOD ON THE TWENTIETH DAY OF JULY 1739. Together with an Historical Introduction by Lester J. Cappon of the University of Virginia, and a map of Virginia showing Germanna in 1738. (Charlottesville, Tracy W. McGregor Library, University of Virginia, 1945, pp. 24, \$5.00.) The text of the Spotswood terms and conditions of lease is in facsimile. The historical introduction is an intimate sketch of Spotswood's life, with emphasis upon his private enterprise.

JOHN DOOLEY, CONFEDERATE SOLDIER: HIS WAR JOURNAL. Edited by Joseph T. Durkin, Professor of American History, Georgetown University. Foreword by Douglas Southall Freeman. (Washington, Georgetown University Press, 1945, pp. xxiii, 244.) The author of this interesting and well-edited journal was the youngest son of Irish immigrants who in two decades had made an important place for their family in the business and social life of Richmond. John Dooley left college to join the First Virginia Infantry as a private. The war diary—August 2, 1862, to July 3, 1863—covers the period of the greatest activity of Lee's army. Here the military historian may find in casual remarks about the weather, supplies, and so forth, fragments of information which may throw light on the strategy and fortunes of war. Others will value the experience of sharing the life and the thoughts of a private soldier, who later became a company officer. The scenes in camp and battle should have inspired some Confederate Mauldin: ragged veterans with their inveterate sense of humor; religious revivals; Christmas celebrations when "Pa sends me a jug of whiskey and we all get quite agreeable"; pleasing glimpses of the army's idols, the stately Lee and the awkward Jackson. There are also drab and horrible scenes: vermin, exhausting marches, battlefields slippery with blood and gruesome with mangled bodies. The war diary ends with Pickett's famous charge at Gettysburg. "I tell you," wrote Captain Dooley as he awaited the zero moment, "there is no romance in making one of these charges." The casualties of the First Virginia Infantry were 120 out of 155 men. Captain Dooley fell badly wounded within thirty yards of the enemy's guns, and was captured. Dooley's prison journal is authentic and valuable. Prisoners suffered from neglect, cold, homesickness, and hunger (reduced at one time to the eating of rats and garbage). Yet they kept their sense of humor; the Thespian

Society entertained, and the prisoners "nearly every evening are engaged in a game they call 'base-ball,' which notwithstanding the heat they prosecute with persevering energy." Captain Dooley, exchanged in February, 1865, journeyed as far south as Charlotte, North Carolina, and described the Confederacy in its last days, "steeped in a fatal lethargy" and resembling a deserted circus ground after the circus had departed.

RICHARD L. MORTON

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# WESTERN TERRITORIES AND STATES

THE TERRITORIAL PAPERS OF THE UNITED STATES. Compiled and edited by Clarence Edwin Carter. Volume XII, THE TERRITORY OF MICHIGAN, 1829-1837 [continued]. (Washington, Government Printing Office, 1945, pp. vii, 1378.) The publication of Volume XII of the *Territorial Papers of the United States* completes the series required for Michigan territory. This entire project, ably edited by Dr. Carter, has been of the greatest value, both in presenting new material and making easily accessible the old, for a definitive history of territorial Michigan. Volume XII is perhaps more significant than its two predecessors, for the years covered (1829 to 1837) marked the final stages in the preparation for and transition to statehood. The documents included are those relating to four administrations: (1) the seventh of Governor Cass, (2) Governor Porter and Acting Governor Mason, (3) Acting Governor Mason, (4) Governor Horner. Charles C. Trowbridge in one of his letters to Henry R. Schoolcraft commented that Michigan without Cass would be like a wild colt. His fears were warranted since neither Porter, whose brief administration was terminated by death, nor Horner, who served as chief executive when a rival state government was in operation, clearly understood the problems of the growing region. Ironically, it remained for young Stevens Thomson Mason to sense the popular demands which find consistent expression throughout the entire volume. Foremost, are the petitions for internal improvements: requests for roads, improvements of harbors, canals, and railroads (including a line, constructed at federal expense, that would unite the Mississippi with the Atlantic coast). Likewise, there is considerable sentiment for a status of statehood with boundaries recognizing the Michigan claims against Ohio. In addition to these major questions there is a continuation of many of the problems treated in Volumes X and XI: patronage, postal routes, surveys, land claims, and Indian relations. The information pertaining both to the lumbering industry (including technological descriptions) and navigation should be of especial assistance to students concerned with those fields. Wisconsin historians should be pleased with the numerous documents relating to their region.

SIDNEY GLAZER

IOWA JOURNAL OF HISTORY AND POLITICS: CUMULATIVE INDEX, VOLUMES I-XL, 1903-1942, I-M. Edited by Ruth A. Gallaher. (Iowa City, State Historical Society, 1945, pp. 185.)

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## Latin-American History

John J. Johnson

### GENERAL

MAKERS OF DEMOCRACY IN LATIN AMERICA. By *Harold E. Davis*, Dean and Professor of History, Hiram College, Hiram, Ohio. [Inter-American Bibliographical and Library Association Publications, Series I, Volume 9.] (New York, H. W. Wilson, 1945, pp. 124, \$1.90.) In this volume Professor Davis presents in semipopular form twenty-four biographies of political and social leaders whom he chooses to call "makers of democracy in Latin America." The work is divided into three sections, namely, "The Movement for Independence," "Nineteenth Century Liberals," and "Latin American Makers of Democracy Today." A brief essay precedes each group of biographies. In the preface the author explains that the "volume is not a balanced history of democracy." On the whole the sketches are of those leaders "who contributed to the great tide of liberal reform," but "a few representatives of conservatism have been included." Even with such qualifications some would question the author's right to include in the introduction the name of Iturbide, to say nothing of calling him a "revolutionary liberal." Manuel Prado Ugarteche of Peru, whose presidential term had not expired when the manuscript went to press, is perhaps the most startling of the new candidates for the role of "democracy maker" to appear in the book. There are a number of other personages included who, at the very best, are marginal material for a volume on democracy—notably Diego José Victor Portales of Chile. Written for semipopular consumption, some parts of the book originally appeared "in somewhat different form" in the *Cleveland Plain Dealer*. For this public the book may have some merit. Dr. Davis has presented a fair cross section of liberal and stabilizing influences in Latin America. The sketches average less than four pages and are thus necessarily encyclopedic, but many of the essential facts are there. The average reader would know more about Latin America when he finished the volume than he had before. However, it is the reviewer's belief that even for the type of book the author chose to write he too often relied upon the romantic, and sometimes unhistorical, as for example when writing of Bolívar he states that "one day in Rome, he went with his tutor to visit the Aventine Hill. There, very dramatically, he swore never to rest until he had broken the chains of Spanish rule." A select bibliography appears at the end of each biography, and there is an index.

A GUIDE TO THE OFFICIAL PUBLICATIONS OF THE OTHER AMERICAN REPUBLICS. By *James B. Childs*, General Editor. Part I, ARGENTINA; Part II, BOLIVIA; Part VII, CUBA. [Latin American Series, Numbers 9, 10, 11.] (Washington, Library of Congress, 1945, pp. 124, 66, 40; 25 cents, 15 cents, 10 cents, Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office.)

**BIBLIOGRAFIA GUATEMALTECA.** Arreglada por J. Antonio Villacorta C. (Guatemala C. A., Tipografía Nacional, 1944, pp. 638.) Here is a volume which all students of Central American history can appreciate. Under the direction of a commission composed of national officials and outstanding bibliophiles there were exhibited in Guatemala City in 1939, 1941, and 1942, books, pamphlets, and periodicals which appeared in print after 1660 and in some way reflected the cultural and literary development of Guatemala. The compiler presents pertinent bibliographical data on the imprints which appeared in the three exhibits. There are numerous facsimiles, and portraits of editors of periodicals are plentiful.

**ANUARIO BIBLIOGRAFICO MEXICANO DE 1941 Y 1942: BIBLIOGRAFIA DE BIBLIOGRAFIAS Y NOTICIA SOBRE ALGUNAS BIBLIOTECAS DE LA CAPITAL.** Compilados por Julián Amo. (México, Secretaría de Relaciones Exteriores, 1944, pp. 374.)

The renewal and increase of historical interest and activity is indicated in part by the receipt of the first issues of four new periodicals. They are *Boletín de la Junta de Estudios Históricos de Quilmes* (Quilmes, Imprenta América, año I, tomo I, 1. semestre, enero-julio, 1944), *Jamaican Historical Review* (Kingston, Jamaica Historical Society, Vol. I, No. 1, June, 1945), *Revista de Guatemala* (publicación trimestral; año I, vol. I, num. 1, julio-septiembre, 1945), *Revista de la Federación de Estudiantes de Chuquisaca* (Sucre, Bolivia, Universidad Mayor, Real y Pontificia de San Francisco Xavier, año I, vol. I, num. 1 y 2, 1945).

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## NORTH AND CENTRAL AMERICA AND THE CARIBBEAN

DESCRIPCION DE LA PARTE ESPAÑOLA DE SANTO DOMINGO. Por M. L. Moreau de Saint-Méry. Traducción del francés por el Lic. C. Armando Rodríguez, por encargo del Generalísimo Rafael L. Trujillo Molina, Presidente de la República Dominicana. (Ciudad Trujillo, Editora Montalvo, 1944, pp. xv, 491.) Méderic Louis Elie-Moreau de Saint Méry in 1783 visited the Spanish part of the island of Saint-Domingue. Between 1796 and 1798 three editions of his *Description* of this region appeared, two in English and one in French. The present publication is the first translation into Spanish and is thus a worth-while contribution to the field of American colonial history. Unfortunately, the extraordinarily good map of I. Sonis which accompanied the account in French is missing in the Spanish edition. A cursory checking against the French text from which the Spanish was done indicates that C. Armando Rodríguez has made a rather faithful translation. His explanatory notes enhance the value of the work.

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- OTELLO ROSA. Alguns documentos sobre 1835—A posse do Dr. Araujo Ribeiro. *Rev. Inst. Hist. Geog. Rio Grande do Sul* (Porto Alegre), IV trim., 1944.
- Documentário: decênio farroupilha—governo do barão de Caxias. *Ibid.*
- Documentário farroupilha. *Ibid.*, I trim., 1945.
- Atas da camara de Santo Amaro (1906). *Rev. Arq. Mun.* (São Paulo), Sept., 1944.

# \* \* \* \* *Historical News* \* \* \* \*

## Historical Activities

AMONG the recent accessions to the Division of Manuscripts in the Library of Congress the following, arranged in chronological order of materials, may be noted: genealogical data of the Sheraton family, county of Durham, England, 1060 to 1853; one box of ecclesiastical court records of the bishopric of Zebu, Philippine Islands, 1653 to 1681, and the acts of the Municipal Council of Manila, 1786 to 1787; photostats of eighty-eight autograph letters and documents, chiefly of American notables, 1685 to 1942 (originals in the possession of Mr. Charles C. Hart); one volume of "Book of References, for the Mapp of the Lordship of Throwley, in Staffordshire; the Survey where of was made in May 1705 by Christopher & Wm. Adams; and the Estimation by James Gales Wm. Smith and Robert Dennis"; two contemporary abstracts of correspondence concerning the British privateer *Ann* captured by the Spanish, from the papers of the British Privy Council, 1728 to 1733; one additional box of the papers of Roger Sherman, 1754 to 1808; five boxes of the papers of the Barnard family of Connecticut and New York, 1757 to 1890; photostats of two letters of George Washington to John Sullivan, May 20, and July 22, 1778, and one to Baron von Steuben, April 12, 1782; photostat of a letter of Count d'Estaing to Silas Deane, May 25, 1778; a letter and a memorandum of Patrick Henry to Mrs. Martha Fontaine, October 2, 1791, and February 4, 1794, respectively; photostats of three letters, 1798, in the Canadian Archives, relating to the loan of twenty-five pieces of cannon to the United States government; letter of Richard M. Johnson to John Armstrong, October 19, 1814; five rolls of microfilms of the papers of José Miguel Carrera, 1815 to 1821; letter of Zachary Taylor to Hancock Taylor, July 6, 1817; three additional boxes of papers of John Ericsson, 1821, 1836 to 1889; letter of Levi Woodbury, December 25, 1830; four pages of autograph notes of George Washington concerning agriculture, with letter of Christopher Hughes to Hamilton Fitzgerald, June 1, 1830; fourteen letters of Benjamin Disraeli to Richard Bentley, 1833 to 1880; photostat of "Tioga Estate-Mineral Report" in Pennsylvania, August to November, 1853; letter of Jared Sparks to W. M. Meredith, January 30, 1837; one reel of microfilms of papers of the Hayden family of Windsor, 1838 to 1844; six documents and letters and one account book of Sewell W. Hopkins, of Maine, October 14, 1841, to December 4, 1861; letter of Henry Clay to James B. Watkins, October 31, 1842; one box of the papers of Alexander B. McFarlan, 1843 to 1865; fourteen additional boxes of the papers of Henry Ward Beecher, 1843 to 1885; letter from George Washington Parke Custis to William E. Robinson, March 14, 1846; letter of Millard Fillmore to [ ] Haven, August 19, 1848; one box of additional papers of Cadmus Marcellus Wilcox, *ca.* 1848 to 1890; journal of the

Reverend Obed Dickinson, October 16 to December 6, 1852; autograph draft of telegram of Abraham Lincoln to George B. McClellan, September 12, 1862; two additional boxes of the papers of James Jenkins Gillette, *ca.* 1862 to 1881; two boxes of the papers of William Conant Church, 1862 to 1917 (restricted); letter of Ralph Waldo Emerson to W. C. Foster, April 16, 1863; two letters of Louis Elseffer to members of his family, January 18, 1865, and February 13, 1885; plat of the farm, and drawing of the house in Caroline County, Virginia, where John Wilkes Booth died; letter from James P. Bogart to J. E. Hilgard, August 9, 1880; six boxes of genealogical data of the Wakefield family, 1881 to 1927; one volume of papers of Gouverneur Kemble Warren: "Proceedings of a Public Meeting of Soldiers of the late War, August 12, 1882"; one additional box of papers of Evelyn Briggs Baldwin, 1898 to 1899; photostat of a letter of Benjamin Harrison to Benjamin Harrison McKee, June 15, 1900; one volume of ticker-type news bulletin concerning the condition of William McKinley, September 6 to 14, 1901; three cartons of papers of Mira Lloyd Dock, *ca.* 1901 to 1945; letter of Jacob A. Riis to the Reverend Julius W. Atwood, December 15, 1902; photostat of a letter of W. C. Shackleford to J. P. McCabe, February 4, 1906; note of Theodore Roosevelt, June 1, 1910, commending Schilling's *Flashlight and Rifle*; seventeen letters, telegrams and cards of Rupert Brooke, and one letter of H. Russell Smith, 1913 to 1914; one box of papers of Gertrude Lane, 1915 to 1935; three letters of Rudyard Kipling, with one from Eli Nicholson to Mrs. Jackson Stoddard, 1919 to 1936; reports of the annual meetings of the National Institute of Social Science, 1934 to 1944; letter from Franklin D. Roosevelt to Archibald MacLeish, November 4, 1939; one box of the "Prologue and Commentary," by Stephen Vincent Benét for the moving picture "Power and the Land" and also a set of "stills" and "clips"; twenty-one boxes of the papers of the United States: Writers' War Board, 1941 to 1945; photostat of letter of Charles W. Cardwell to Melvin Scott, August 18, 1942; photostat of letter of Winston Churchill to Jesse Merritt, September 14, 1943; one folder of the papers of Robert Livingston Nicholson, 1944 to 1945; one volume of the "Register of Visitors, United Nations Conference on International Organization, April 25, to June 26, 1945"; one box of the papers of Wendell Willkie; nine large wooden boxes of the papers of John Leonard Hines (restricted); and two boxes of additional papers of William Jennings Bryan, including "Biographical Notes, His Speeches, Letters and other Writings," by Grace Dexter Bryan.

On September 12, 1945, a few days after they were flown to the United States from General MacArthur's headquarters, the Japanese surrender documents signed on board the battleship *Missouri* were placed on view in the National Archives, where the German surrender papers, which have been transferred to the permanent custody of the archivist, were already on display. General Jonathan M. Wainwright opened the exhibition in a colorful ceremony witnessed by diplomatic and military representatives of the United Nations. Subsequently the joint chiefs of staff trans-

ferred the surrender documents signed in the Philippines, at Singapore, in southern Korea, and on Saishu-To and these were also placed on display. From November 1 until December 15 all the surrender documents will be on a victory loan tour. After that they will again be exhibited in the National Archives. The instruments of surrender and other papers signed at Lüneburg, Reims, and Berlin have been published in facsimile by the National Archives in *Germany Surrenders Unconditionally*. This 41-page booklet, which is for sale for 30 cents a copy by the Superintendent of Documents, Washington 25, D. C., also contains an introduction briefly describing the documents and the circumstances of their signing and the radio script of the ceremonies opening the exhibit of them on June 6. A similar publication, *The End of the War in the Pacific*, containing facsimiles of the Japanese surrender documents is in press and will be available for 30 cents from the Superintendent of Documents by the first of December. The termination of war activities has already resulted in the transfer to the National Archives of records from several emergency agencies. Among them are the records of the Industrial Incentive Division of the Navy Department, 1941-45; the records of the War Refugee Board, 1944-45; applications for export licenses made to the Foreign Economic Administration, 1942-43; case files of and hearings before the National War Labor Board, 1942-44; and records of the overseas branch of the Office of War Information, consisting of radio scripts and program logs of the San Francisco office and sound recordings of broadcasts from the New York office, 1941-45. Other recent accessions include a group of photographs pertaining to Indian wars, the Spanish-American War, the Philippine Insurrection, the China Relief Expedition, and the Mexican Punitive Expedition, 1898-1914, received from the War Department; records of the Immigration and Naturalization Service, 1882-1938; and records of the Comptroller of the Currency Bureau relating to national banks, 1863-1940. Under sponsorship of the Interdepartmental Committee on Cultural and Scientific Cooperation, a program for bringing Latin American archivists to the United States to study archival methods has been instituted. Juan Eyzaguirre Escobar, assistant director of the national archives of Chile, and Manuel Carrera Stampa, doctoral candidate at the National University of Mexico, are now working at the National Archives on fellowships. Later they will study at other archival agencies throughout the country.

Former Secretary of Labor Frances Perkins has given the Franklin D. Roosevelt Library a collection of addresses and articles by herself and others on the subject of labor in the United States, 1932-44, together with letters and resolutions addressed to her as Secretary of Labor from 1940 to 1942 on various subjects growing out of the problem of national defense. Additional personal papers for the period 1933-38 received from Mrs. Roosevelt include material relating to inaugural ceremonies and family weddings. Other material acquired includes fifteen sound recordings of addresses by Mr. Roosevelt and of other important speeches and events of his administration; forty photographs made on his visit to

Ottawa, Canada, in August, 1943; a number of books and pamphlets on subjects related to his presidency; and a variety of museum objects. In the last-mentioned group are two dry-point portrait engravings of Mr. Roosevelt made by Walter Tittle in 1944.

Plans have been made for locating, collecting, editing, and publishing during the next three years a comprehensive documentary history of education in the South, under the direction of Edgar W. Knight, Kenan Professor of Education in the University of North Carolina. The study will include the states of Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, and Virginia. The period to be covered will be the colonial and antebellum down to 1860.

Cornell University has issued the first report covering the regional materials on the history of western New York accumulated between 1942, when the collection was started, and 1945. The curator and editor of the report is Mr. Whitney R. Cross. It is gratifying to see the contents of the collection made known so promptly to interested scholars.

A biography (life and letters) of Justin Winsor is being prepared by Joseph Borome of the Columbia University library. Mr. Borome would appreciate help in turning up Winsor's correspondence with noted historians of his day. Any material addressed to Mr. Borome (Columbia College Library, 225 South Hall, Columbia University, New York 27) will be promptly returned by registered mail, and full acknowledgment will of course be made in the published volume.

The Archives and Museum of the Polish Roman Catholic Union of America, Chicago, observed the tenth anniversary of its founding with a brief program of music and addresses on October 7. Started in 1935, the Archives and Museum has grown into a rich collection of materials on Polish culture and on history of the Polish group in America. Its library contains 17,000 volumes, besides a large number of pamphlets and manuscripts. A catalogue of one section of its reference library has recently been compiled by Alphonse S. Wolanin and published by the Archives and Museum under the title *Polonica in English*. The Archives and Museum has recently acquired a large collection of manuscripts and relics of General Kosciuszko, containing seventy-three letters by him, pertaining mostly to the American Revolution and the general's second sojourn in America in 1797-98, also letters by General Greene (6), Robert Morris (2), Washington (1 water-press copy), Jefferson (3), John Quincy Adams (1), Barlow (6), and other famous Americans of the Revolutionary and post-Revolutionary era. This collection is described in a printed catalogue, *Memorial Exhibition, Thaddeus Kosciuszko* (The Anderson Galleries, New York City, 1927).

The Burke Society of Fordham University, named after the political philosopher Edmund Burke, has been formed to promote the analytical study of modern

political society, from a historical and philosophical point of view and in the light of the principles and traditions essentially characteristic of the international society of Christendom. The society plans a program for each academic year of special lectures, symposiums, co-operative studies, and monographs. The results of the annual program will be published in the Fordham University Studies. The first in the series, edited by the Reverend William J. Schlaerth, S.J., and recently published by the Fordham University Press, is entitled *Alexis de Tocqueville's Democracy in America: A Symposium* (New York, 1945, pp. 42, 75 cents).

The award of thirty-six post-service fellowships with stipends totaling \$94,000 is announced by the John Simon Guggenheim Memorial Foundation. The foundation's post-service fellowships, granting approximately \$2,500 to each recipient, are awarded exclusively to young scholars and artists who have served the nation's war effort in the armed and other governmental services. The Army recipients of post-service fellowships range from private first class to lieutenant colonel and, in the Navy, from specialist third class to lieutenant commander. At the same time it is announced that the foundation has doubled its original appropriation of \$200,000 for post-service fellowships. This, it was stated at the office of the foundation, is a consequence of the high ability of the persons who applied for these fellowships. The foundation's appropriations for post-service fellowships are in addition to its usual fellowship budgets. The post-service fellowships are granted upon the same basis as the other fellowships of the foundation, to persons who have demonstrated unusual capacity for research and artistic creation. They may be taken up by the recipients as soon as they are discharged from service or within one year thereafter. The names of post-service fellows, with historical projects, now appointed and statements of their projects for research follow: Herbert Aptheker, captain, Army; historian, New York City: a study of the American Negro in the second World War; Oliver La Farge, major, Air Transport Command, Army; writer: the writing of a history of the Air Transport Command; Paul G. Horgan, lieutenant colonel, Army; librarian, New Mexico Military Institute: the writing of a book on the Rio Grande; John Bakeless, lieutenant colonel, Army; associate professor of journalism, New York University: the preparation of a joint biography of Lewis and Clark; Adrienne Koch, writer; recently political analyst, Office of Economic Warfare, Washington, D. C.: studies of the social and political philosophy of Jefferson, Madison, and Monroe; Garrett Mattingly, lieutenant, Navy; associate professor, Long Island University: a history of the Spanish embassy in England, 1485-1688; Walter Allen, jr., lieutenant, Navy; assistant professor of classics, Yale University: a book on Cicero and the great nobles of Rome; Bernard Weinberg, captain, Army; assistant professor of romance languages, Washington University, St. Louis: a history of literary theory in the Italian Renaissance, emphasizing the development and transformation of the principal critical traditions of classical antiquity; Revilo P. Oliver, assistant



professor of classics and of Spanish and Italian, University of Illinois; recently research analyst, Army: studies of the ethico-philosophical content of the humanism of the first half of the fifteenth century; Richard Beale Davis, lieutenant, Navy; associate professor of English, University of South Carolina: a biographical study of George Sandys with particular emphasis on his political and literary significance in seventeenth century England and colonial America; Ernest C. Mossner, sergeant, Army; professor of English, Syracuse University: a biography of David Hume as a man of letters. The committee of selection consisted of Dr. Frank Aydelotte, director of the Institute for Advanced Study, Princeton, New Jersey, chairman; Dr. Florence R. Sabin of the Rockefeller Institute for Medical Research, Professor Edwin Bidwell Wilson of the Harvard University School of Public Health, Professor Linus Pauling of the California Institute of Technology, and Professor Wallace Notestein of Yale University.

Seventy awards, totaling over \$126,000 for the academic year 1945-46, have been announced by the Social Science Research Council, 230 Park Avenue, New York 17. The awards provide for study and research in the fields of economics, political science, sociology, statistics, political, social, and economic history, cultural anthropology, social psychology, geography, and related disciplines. Thirty-eight of the fellowships were granted under the Demobilization Award program, initiated last year, to assist in the return to academic and research careers of social scientists whose scientific work has been seriously disrupted by service in the armed forces or other war activities. Ten fellows were appointed under the regular program, which the council has maintained during the entire war period, for the research training of promising young social scientists through advanced graduate study and field experience. The remaining twenty-two awards are grants-in-aid of research designed to assist mature scholars in the social sciences in the completion of research projects already well under way. The list of awards in history, including institutional affiliations and subjects of studies, follows: *Demobilization Awards*: Ralph H. Bowen, country economic specialist, Department of State, M.A. Columbia University, for research in the development of corporatist doctrines in Germany, 1870-1920; Samuel Davis, lieutenant, USNR, M.A. University of Missouri, for a study of the attitudes adopted by the English Labor party toward foreign affairs, 1919-24; Whitney A. Griswold, director, Civil Affairs Training School, Yale University, Ph.D. Yale University, for a comparative study of agrarian political movements and the main trends of agricultural policy in England, France, Germany, U.S.A., and Russia, 1750-1945; Sidney S. Harcave, research analyst, OSS, Ph.D. University of Chicago, for study and consultation in the field of social psychology with special reference to the application of its techniques to the history of social movements; John H. Herz, research analyst, OSS, Ph.D. Cologne University, for study of recent developments in foreign government and politics; James W. Hurst, lieutenant (s.g.),

USNR, L.L.B., Harvard University, for research in American legal history; Andrew Lossky, lieutenant, AUS, M.A. Yale University, for study of Russian history, particularly the period of Peter the Great; Henry C. Meyer, research analyst, OSS, Ph.D. Yale University, for research, study, and writing in the field of European history, and for Russian language study; Ira Polley, ensign, USNR, M.A. University of Minnesota, for research in the politics and administration of the labor relations acts of selected states in the Middle West and East; Robert L. Reynolds, research analyst, OSS, Ph.D. University of Wisconsin, for research on Genoese notarial archives. *Pre-Doctoral Field Training Fellows*: David Herbert Donald, University of Illinois, for field training in intellectual history, by tracing the sources of intellectual history in the Ohio Valley, 1830-70; Clement G. Motten, University of Pennsylvania, for field training in economic history through study in Mexico of the long-range effects of technical improvements introduced into the Mexican silver mines in 1775-1825. *Grants-in-aid*: Wilbur C. Abbott, professor of history (emeritus), Harvard University, for the completion of *The Writings and Speeches of Oliver Cromwell*; Clyde J. Bollinger, associate professor of geography, University of Oklahoma, for the completion of a study of the American wheat belt; Hugh McDowall Clokier, associate professor of government, University of Manitoba, for the completion of a study of the development of the English party organization; John Hope Franklin, professor of American history, North Carolina College for Negroes, for the completion of a study of the emergence of military spirit in the Old South; Earl J. Hamilton, professor of economics, Northwestern University, for the completion of a study of the first fifty years of the bank of Spain; John I. Kolehmainen, professor of history and political science, Heidelberg College, for the completion of a history of the Finnish people in America; Koppel S. Pinson, assistant professor of history, Queens College, for the completion of a study of Jewish social and intellectual movements since the time of Moses Mendelssohn; Edward F. Willis, assistant professor of history, Carnegie Institute of Technology, for the completion of a study of the blockade of Europe after the armistice of 1918-19; Wilford J. Eiteman, assistant professor of economics, Duke University, for the completion of a study of the economy of Alaska. Two grant-in-aid appointees whose topics are of general interest to the academic world are Harvey C. Lehman, professor of psychology, Ohio University, a study of the chronological age levels at which men do their best work in various lines of endeavor, and Elon H. Moore, head of the department of sociology, University of Oregon, the securing and analysis of case studies on personal adjustments to retirement.

In pursuance of the New York State Historical Association's purpose, as recently announced by its president, Dr. Arthur G. Parker, to establish a permanent memorial to honor the scholarship of Dixon Ryan Fox, the trustees of the association have authorized the creation of a fund in the amount of \$100,000 to be

known as the Dixon Ryan Fox Memorial Fund. "The principal and income of this sum," it is announced, "will be used, at the discretion of the trustees, to promote the causes which Dr. Fox most deeply cherished, as parts of a well-rounded program for keeping a sense of history alive among the people of this great state, generation after generation." Contributions to the fund should be sent directly to the Treasurer, New York State Historical Association, Coopers-town, New York, and should be designated as for the Dixon Ryan Fox Memorial Fund.

The Telluride Association, an endowed scholarship foundation in Cornell University, has set up a George Lincoln Burr Memorial Scholarship Fund in honor of the memory of Professor Burr, who, among many activities, was one time president of this association. The holder of the Burr Scholarship may be either a graduate or undergraduate man in any field of work at Cornell University. He will receive his full tuition, board, and room.

Foreign travel to pursue or renew historical research in European archives and libraries will not be advisable or even possible for another year. That is the gist of an exchange of letters between the Department of State and Dr. Waldo G. Leland, director of the American Council of Learned Societies.

The University of Caen was practically destroyed during the Normandy campaign. The library, building and books, was the chief casualty. An American committee to gather and forward books to Caen has been formed under the chairmanship of Professor Horatio Smith of Columbia University. The committee has prepared an illustrated pamphlet which they will gladly send on request. Useful books in any field may be sent to the chairman.

## *Personal*

Max Farrand, president of the American Historical Association in 1940 and former director of research at the Huntington Library, died at his home in Bar Harbor, Maine, on June 17, 1945. Born March 29, 1869, in Newark, New Jersey, Farrand was one of a distinguished family of educators. His father, Samuel A. Farrand was for many years the headmaster of Newark Academy, a post to which the eldest brother, Wilson Farrand, succeeded. Another brother, Livingston Farrand, was president of Cornell University. From Princeton University, Max Farrand received his bachelor's degree in 1892, the degree of master of arts in 1893, and that of doctor of philosophy in history in 1896. In addition to graduate study at Princeton, he spent several periods in seminars at Heidelberg and Leipzig. Beginning his professional career as a teacher and a scholar with an instructorship at Wesleyan University in 1896, he proceeded rapidly to a professorship there. In 1901, he became professor and head of the history depart-

ment at Stanford University, where he remained until 1908. During this period he spent one year on leave as visiting professor at Cornell. From 1908 to 1925 he was professor at Yale. During busy years as a teacher whose students remember him as an inspiring lecturer and counsellor, he established his reputation as a scholar with the preparation of a definitive edition of the *Records of the Federal Convention of 1787*, published in three volumes in 1911. A supplementary volume appeared in 1937. Although Farrand wrote many able articles and several books on American history, none surpassed in importance the *Records of the Federal Convention*, a monument of painstaking and meticulous scholarship which also demonstrates imaginative research. This work will remain a model of editorial practice. Its publication is a landmark in constitutional history, for the editor succeeded in recreating an accurate day-by-day account of the evolution of the Federal Constitution—something which scholars had previously lacked. In 1919, while still a member of the Yale faculty, he became general director of the Commonwealth Fund, a foundation in which he played an important role until his resignation in 1927. During that time he developed a profound interest in furthering Anglo-American relations through the appointment of British scholars to educational posts which would bring them to this country. In the establishment of the Henry E. Huntington Library and Art Gallery as a research foundation and a living institution devoted to the active advancement of learning, Farrand had an important part. By a deed of trust dated August 30, 1919, Henry Edwards Huntington set up this institution under the guidance of five trustees; two of these trustees, Dr. George Ellery Hale, then director of Mt. Wilson Observatory, and Dr. Robert A. Millikan, chairman of the executive council of the California Institute of Technology, consulted with Farrand during a visit to California in January, 1926. Later in the same year, Farrand returned for further discussions with the trustees and the founder about the potentialities of the library. At that time, according to a memorandum which he has left, he outlined to Huntington a program of research which would enable the library “to be the influential institution that he dreamed of its being—not a mere museum or mausoleum, but an active force,” and Huntington agreed upon an endowment sufficient for such a program. In 1927 Farrand was invited to become director of research—a title that was significant because both trustees and founder had agreed that the institution’s emphasis should be placed upon research. During his directorship, from 1927 until his retirement on June 30, 1941, Farrand devoted his energy and talents to giving the Huntington Library international significance as a research foundation. He was instrumental in gathering a permanent research staff of scholars devoted to the study of various aspects of English and American civilization. Many visiting scholars were brought to the library, and provisions were made for the annual appointment of a group of research fellows. Meanwhile Farrand lent his support to the continued development of the library’s historical material; within a decade, a collector’s library was transformed into a research institution with

the reference works and bibliographical apparatus required by scholars. During the early years of the library's development, before ill-health and the multiplication of responsibilities interfered, Farrand maintained an active interest in the work of his younger colleagues and was a source of help and inspiration. Constantly he insisted upon the highest standards of quality in the Huntington Library's publications. He chose for himself the preparation of a definitive text of Benjamin Franklin's *Autobiography* based on Franklin's holograph copy in the Huntington Library. The standard of editorial perfection which he set himself explains in part why the task was incomplete at his death. His associates at the Huntington Library plan to finish the text. Always interested in fine printing, he made a remarkable collection of the publications of the Merrymount Press and bequeathed it to the Huntington Library. As scholar and administrator, Farrand achieved distinction. He will be long remembered for his *Records of the Federal Convention* and the establishment of policies at the Huntington Library which gave that institution in a short span of years a significant place in higher learning.

The death of Roger Bigelow Merriman on September 7 took from Harvard one of its great teachers, one who brought to his life work a zestful vigor, a breadth of outlook, that made contact with him an apprenticeship to life as well as to scholarship. Profound scholarship was the foundation on which he built his work; but the work was teaching. Publication began early, with his *Thomas Cromwell* in 1902, and was to cease only with the correction of the proofs of the second edition of his *Suleiman the Magnificent* forty-three years later, during the last weeks of his life. To his scholarship Merriman owed the international reputation that was recognized by honorary degrees from Oxford, Glasgow, and Cambridge. His true monument, however, is in the intangible realm of memory, where stands the contribution that he made to "general education in a free society." To those whom he taught, and he taught many thousands, Merriman was only incidentally the author of *The Rise of the Spanish Empire*. To his students he was one who made history live. The swing and dash, the entirely Elizabethan zest which he brought, whether to the relatively elementary mass instruction of History 1 or to the informed intimacy of the seminar, were forces for liberal education. He converted many a "football barbarian" to an appreciation of the meaning of history, and many a "foot-note barbarian" to the realization that scholarship is more than publication for facts' sake. It was entirely in character that Merriman should have been chosen as one of the first masters in Harvard's House experiment of the 1930's. It was also entirely in character that Eliot House should have become one of the most vigorous and influential of the seven Houses, establishing almost at once a pre-eminence maintained until the war called for its conversion to Navy use. Liberal education was Merriman's life, in college or graduate school, in classroom, eight-oared shell, or House. He saw "the good life"

clearly and could communicate his vision to others. To the very last of a painful illness interest in the future remained his dominant emotion. In a letter to a colleague, written only a few days before the end, he said, "Your letter rouses in me a slight desire to be up and doing, otherwise, as Oliver Cromwell said a few days before his death, 'My chief desire here is to make what haste I may to be gone.'" So departed a great scholar, a great teacher, and a very gallant gentleman.

Howard Levi Gray died suddenly on September 14 while on a visit to his birthplace at Fort Plain, New York. He was seventy-one years of age and unmarried. Some five years ago he retired from the faculty of Bryn Mawr College, where he had spent most of his professional life (1915-1940) and where for seventeen years he was Marjorie Walter Goodhart professor of history. He was primarily an economic historian—one of the most distinguished of that distinguished company of American economic historians who have drawn their inspiration from Professor Edwin F. Gay at Harvard. Like Gay, Gray's first important work was in English agrarian history. His book on *English Field Systems* (1915) is probably the most significant contribution ever made to that difficult subject. Later his interest shifted to English trade and finance particularly in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. He left behind him an unfinished study on "Mid-Fifteenth Century Finance and Administration." More than once he deviated into neighboring fields, as in his notable study on the *Influence of the Commons on Early Legislation* (1932) and his essay on "Greek Visitors to England, 1455-6." His work in London on the Joint Shipping Board during World War I inspired an admirable short study on *British Industry at War* (1918). Gray was a great teacher and he built up around him at Bryn Mawr College a group of young scholars who, in turn, have made notable contributions to our knowledge of medieval economic history. The scope of his teaching was, however, far wider than the chosen field of his own researches. Bryn Mawr undergraduates still look back upon his course in the Renaissance as one of their great intellectual experiences, and more than one outstanding scholar in the field of contemporary Europe drew her initial impulse from his seminar on that subject. But he was above all a humanist with an interest in humane learning as broad as the world. As such he was, within the limits of a very modest purse, an indefatigable collector of works of art. At different times in his life he collected English glass, early German woodcuts, Oriental rugs, early English furniture, Japanese prints, modern paintings, and Chinese pottery. In the latter field he was a recognized expert. Those who knew him best will remember him above all as a devoted and absolutely selfless friend.

Gavin Burns Henderson, English historian and lecturer in the department of history in Glasgow University, was killed during the past summer vacation in an air crash at Athens while he was on a lecture tour of RAF units in the Mediterranean area. He was thirty-six years of age. Dr. Henderson was a scholar



of Selwyn College, Cambridge, and, after taking a first class degree in history, he engaged in research under the late Professor Harold Temperley. He was awarded the degree of Ph.D. for a dissertation on "The Concert of Europe, June 1854-July 1855." In 1935 he was appointed to a lectureship in the department of history at Glasgow University. He continued his research on the diplomatic history of the nineteenth century making extensive use of unpublished materials in various public and private archives in England and on the Continent. Some of the results of his work were published in the *American Historical Review* ("The Diplomatic Revolution of 1854," XLIII, 22) and in other historical magazines. In the early years of the war Dr. Henderson gave a series of "War Commentaries" for the Ministry of Information and then he was given leave of absence from his normal duties to become a full-time lecturer to His Majesty's Forces. He visited troops in the Orkneys and Shetlands and in the Faroe Islands and undertook a lecture tour in the Middle East. At the time of his death he had resumed his work at the university.

Herman T. Colenbrander, Dutch historian and professor of history at Leyden University, died October 12. He was seventy-four years old. Dr. Colenbrander was director of Netherlands State Historical Publications from 1902 to 1918, and in 1918 became editor of *De Gids*, leading Dutch monthly. In 1925 he was a co-founder of the Congress of Historical Sciences at Geneva.

Ethel Armes, who was associated with the Robert E. Lee Foundation, died September 28 in Peterborough, New Hampshire, after being stricken at the nearby MacDowell Colony, where she had gone for the summer to work on a new book. She was the author of *Nancy Shippen: Her Journal Book* and *Stratford Hall, the Great House of the Lees*, both written as a result of historical research she did for the Lee Foundation. She aided the organization in the purchase and restoration of Stratford Hall, Lee's birthplace. She also was active in the Sulgrave Institution and the Theodore Roosevelt Memorial Association. Other books she wrote include *Midsummer in Whittier's Country* and the *Story of Coal and Iron in Alabama*.

Caroline Hazard, president of Wellesley College from 1899 to 1910 and author and editor of numerous books, died March 19 at the age of eighty-nine.

Charles H. Norby, lieutenant commander in the Navy, died on October 19 while stationed at the University of North Carolina. He was thirty-seven years old. Before entering the service he had taught history at Luther College, Bemidji Teachers College, and at Iowa State College of Agriculture.

Appointment of Dr. Theodore C. Blegen, dean of the Graduate School of the University of Minnesota, to membership on the advisory board on national parks, historic sites, buildings, and monuments was announced November 3 by Secre-

tary of the Interior Harold L. Ickes. Other members of the advisory board are Dr. Waldo G. Leland, Washington, D. C., acting chairman; Dr. Frank M. Setzler, Washington, D. C., secretary; Dr. Thomas Barbour, Cambridge, Massachusetts; Dr. Herbert E. Bolton, Berkeley, California; Dr. Ralph W. Chaney, Berkeley, California; Mrs. Reau Folk, Nashville, Tennessee; Dr. Fiske Kimball, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania; Charles G. Sauers, River Forest, Illinois; Tom Wallace, Louisville, Kentucky; and Dr. Clark Wissler, New York City.

Richard H. Heindel, until recently the director of the American library established by the Office of War Information in the London embassy, has joined the Department of State as a special assistant in the Office of Public Affairs to advise on library services of interest to the department. This includes the future of the successful public information libraries opened by the government in foreign countries during the war. Dr. Heindel, on leave from the department of history of the University of Pennsylvania, established the first OWI library in 1942 in London.

Christopher Robert Cheney (M.A., Oxford) has been appointed professor of medieval history in the University of Manchester, in succession to Professor E. F. Jacob, who leaves Manchester to take up the first research fellowship at All Souls, Oxford.

Sidney Painter was advanced from an associate professorship to a professorship and appointed chairman of the department of history at the Johns Hopkins University during the last academic year.

William B. Munro, who has held the Edward S. Harkness professorship of history and government at the California Institute of Technology since its establishment, became emeritus professor on September 1, 1945.

Wesley C. Mitchell has resigned as director of research in the National Bureau of Economic Research after twenty-five years of service in which the policies and practices of the National Bureau were developed. Arthur F. Burns, professor of economics in Columbia University, has succeeded Dr. Mitchell, who will continue as a member of the research staff.

Carl C. Eckhardt has retired as professor of history in the University of Colorado. Richard M. Brace, formerly of Pomona College, has accepted an associate professorship in the same institution.

Edward Tuthill, professor of history at the University of Kentucky since 1908 and head of the department since 1911, retired from active service on July 1. He is succeeded as head of the department by Thomas D. Clark, who has been the acting head during the past two years.

After forty-three years of service at the University of Missouri, Jonas Viles retired in June to the position of professor emeritus of history.

Sidney R. Packard of Smith College has been visiting lecturer on history at Harvard and Radcliffe for the first semester of the current academic year.

William O. Aydelotte has been granted a leave of absence from Smith College to accept a research fellowship at Princeton University. Dr. Aydelotte is working on a book on Dickens and his relation to the history of his times.

O. O. Winther, assistant professor of history in Indiana University, is on sabbatical leave at the Henry E. Huntington Library, where he has been granted a fellowship to make a study of the American Southwest in transition.

F. H. Soward is on leave for another year from the University of British Columbia; he is with the Department of External Affairs at Ottawa.

Sylvester J. Hemleben, associate professor of history and social studies and head of the department in the Fordham University School of Education, has been granted a leave of absence for the academic year 1945-46 to serve as editor in chief of the historical program of the United States Chemical Warfare Service. His duties will include the editorial guidance, planning, and preparation for eventual publication of studies that will provide a complete history of Chemical Warfare Service activities and achievements in World War II.

Wendell H. Stephenson, who has been on leave of absence from Louisiana State University during the past year to do research work on historical scholarship in the South, under the auspices of a grant from the General Education Board, has accepted a position at the University of Kentucky as professor of history and editor for the University Press. He assumed his new duties in September.

Horace Adams, formerly of Arkansas Agricultural and Mechanical College, has been appointed professor of history and head of the department at Arkansas State Teachers College, Conway, Arkansas.

Charles R. Keller has been promoted to professor of history in Williams College and has been named J. Leland Miller professor of American history, literature, and eloquence.

M. L. W. Laistner has been granted leave from Cornell University for the spring term. He will be in residence in the University of California as Sather professor of classical literature.

Marc Szeftel, a graduate of the University of Brussels and Ph.D., Columbia, has been appointed acting assistant professor of Russian history in Cornell University for 1945-46.

R. A. McLemore, professor of history and head of the department at Mississippi Southern College, has been named acting dean of instruction for the college. At the same institution, John Edmond Gonzales, formerly a fellow at Louisiana State University, has been appointed instructor in history.

Harold E. Briggs, professor of history and head of the department at the University of Miami, Coral Gables, Florida, for the past ten years, has accepted a position as professor of history and chairman of the department at Southern Illinois Normal University at Carbondale, Illinois. William A. Pitkin of the history department at Superior State Teachers College at Superior, Wisconsin, has accepted a position as associate professor of history at the same institution.

Philip D. Jordan, formerly of Miami University, Oxford, Ohio, has been appointed associate professor of history at the University of Minnesota.

Kenneth E. St. Clair, president of Sayre School for Girls in Lexington, Kentucky, is visiting professor of history at Transylvania College for the fall and winter quarters of the current academic year.

Leroy P. Graf, formerly of Ohio State University, has been appointed associate professor of history at the University of Tennessee.

Richard N. Current, formerly at Northern Michigan College, Marquette, Michigan, is now associate professor of American history at Lawrence College, Appleton, Wisconsin.

Max P. Allen, formerly of Indiana University, has been appointed professor of history in Northern Michigan College of Education at Marquette.

Walther Kirchner, formerly lecturer in modern European history in the University of California at Los Angeles, has become assistant professor in the University of Delaware.

Walter V. Scholes has been appointed assistant professor of history at the University of Missouri.

George B. Carson, formerly of Monticello College, has been appointed assistant professor of history at the University of Kentucky.

Harry W. Nerhood has been advanced to assistant professor at Whittier College; he recently completed the work for a Ph.D. degree at Ohio State University.

Madaline W. Nichols, formerly of Goucher College, is now visiting assistant professor of history and Spanish at Duke University.

Roman J. Zorn has been appointed instructor in history at the University of Arkansas.

Sidney L. Jackson, captain in the United States Army, formerly with the Signal Corps Historical Section, New York, is now on duty in the Pacific.

The announcement in the October issue of the *Review* that Troyer S. Anderson has been appointed to the departmental headship at Hunter College is an error. Dr. Anderson has accepted a professorship at that institution.